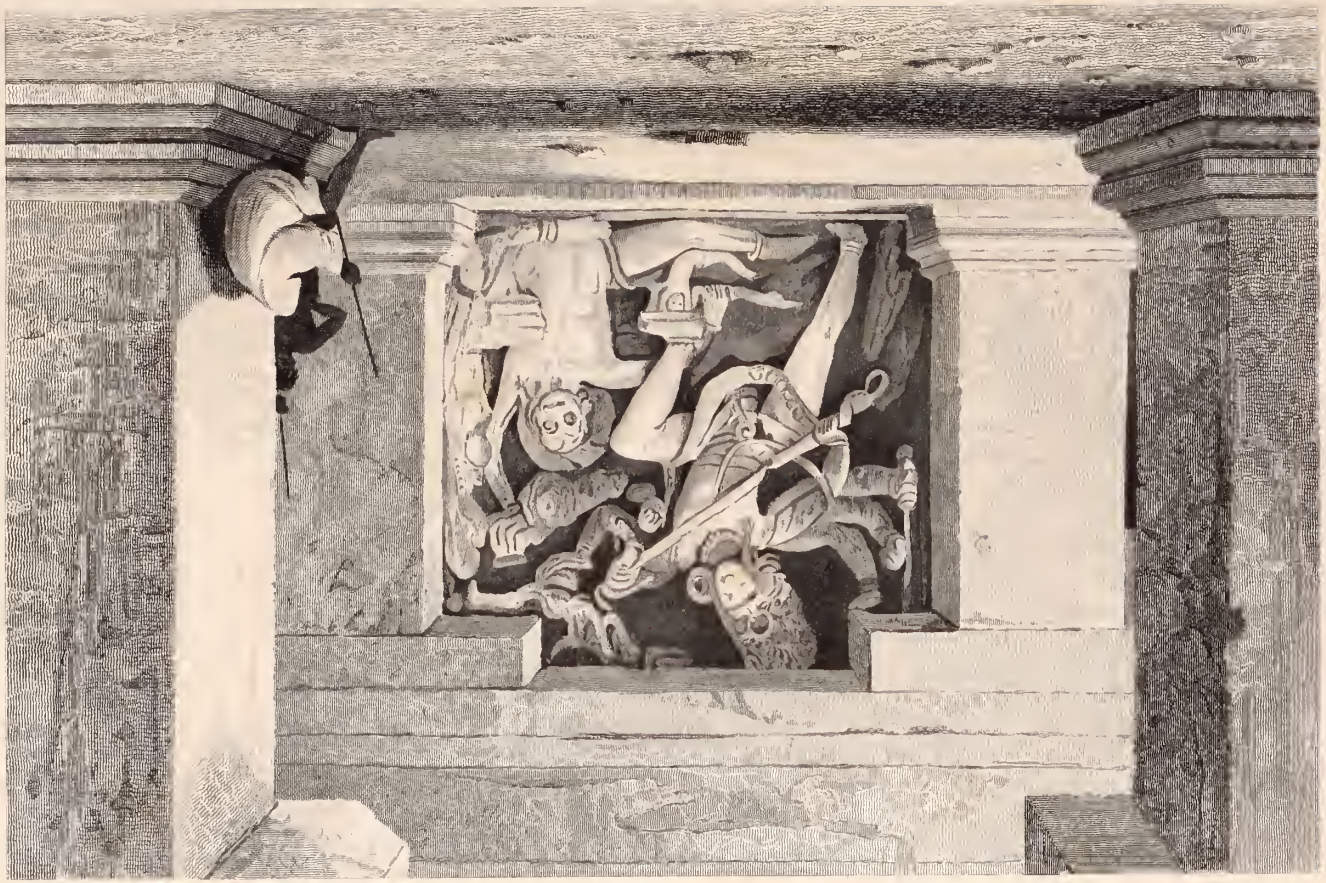
THE INDIAN EMPIRE

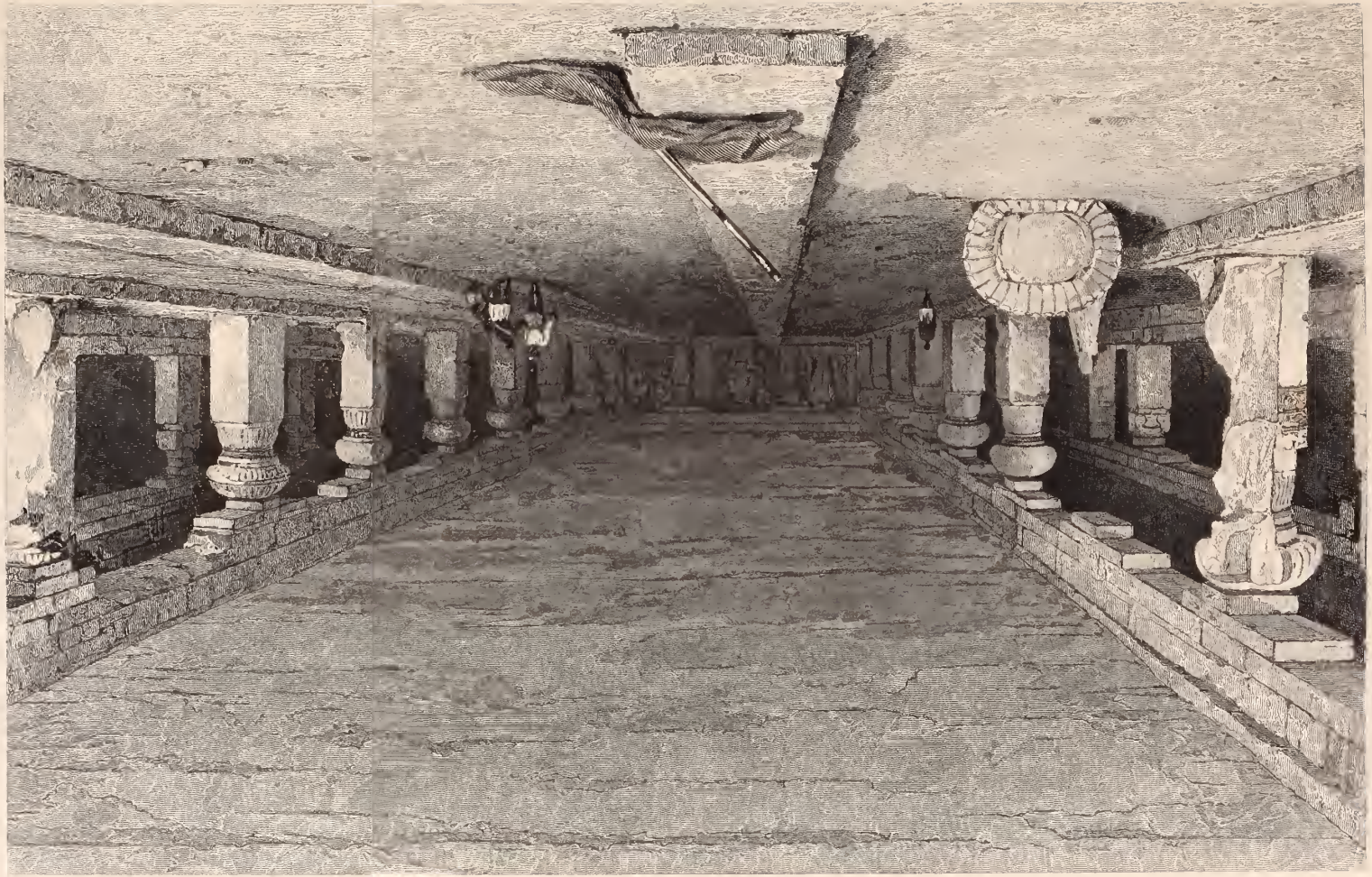
R. M. Martin

The Indian Empire

V

THE PALACE OF THE PRINCE OF PRUSSIA AT BERLIN.





chase, according to the invariable rules of the country."*

Sir Thomas Munro, in a report dated 15th of May, 1806, says—"Every village is a little republic with the Potail at the head of it, and India a mass of such republics. The inhabitants, during war, look chiefly to their own Potail. They give themselves no trouble about the breaking up and division of kingdoms; while the village remains entire, they care not to what power it is transferred. Wherever it goes, the internal management remains unaltered. The Potail is still the collector, magistrate, and head farmer."

Lord Metcalfe observes—"Village communities are little republics, having everything they want within themselves, and almost independent of any foreign relations. They seem to last where nothing else lasts. Dynasty after dynasty tumbles down, revolution succeeds revolution, Hindoo, Patan, Mogul, Mahratta, Sikh, English, all are masters in turn; but the village communities remain the same. This union of village communities, each one forming a separate state in itself, has, I conceive, contributed more than any other to the preservation of the people of India throughout all the revolutions and changes which they have suffered, and is in a high degree conducive to their happiness, and to the enjoyment of a great portion of freedom and independence."

The *natale solum* principle is very strong among the Hindoos, and they resemble, in this respect, their alleged Scythic or Celtic ancestors. During the ravages of the Pindarrees, numerous villages in the Nerbudda districts had been laid waste, and were tenantless for more than thirty years; but the Potails, and other hereditary village officers, though scattered, and residing many hundred miles from their native homes, maintained a constant communication with each other, strengthened their links of attachment by intermarriage, and kept alive the hope of restoration to the home of their youth. When tranquillity was restored, they flocked to the ruined villages, bearing sometimes the infant Potails (second or third in descent from the expelled) at their head, amid songs and rejoicings; the roofless houses were soon reoccupied by the former proprietors, or their heirs; each field was taken possession of without dispute by the rightful owner; and, in a few days, everything was settled as if the internal relations of the community had never been disturbed.†

Rightly to understand the full bearings of the question, the circumstances must be understood which led to the formation of what is vaguely termed the

Zemindar System in Bengal and Bahar.—When the E. I. Company succeeded the usurping servants of the Great Mogul in the possession of these provinces, the Village system had ceased to exist; the land was parcelled out among Moslem tax-gatherers, who plundered the people, hindered tillage, and annihilated the proprietary rights of small cultivators: these, in many cases, fled from the oppressors, who forced them to cultivate, not for themselves, but for the state. The very extent of the evil deterred the representatives of the Company from grappling with it; and they all temporised and theorised until the appointment of a governor-general, whose independence of position and character enabled him to form sounder opinions regarding the great interests committed to his charge, and gave him courage to act upon them. Lord Cornwallis did not, as Warren Hastings said his predecessors had done, regard the highest seat in the council-chamber as "a nest to hatch fortunes in." Neither did he consider the exaction of the largest possible immediate revenue as an advantage to be procured at any cost. He saw a crisis was at hand, and that some decided measure was needed to avert it: ruin seemed approaching from many quarters; there was no capital—no fixity of tenure; the annual and capricious assessments involved endless detail and general confusion, with the invariable consequence—wrong, injustice, and plunder to the peasantry.

Hopeless of disentangling so complex a subject, the governor-general cut the Gordian knot by resolving on the elevation of a landed proprietary to an independent position. He was told that no persons of this class remained: he answered that it was necessary, then, to create them. The materials which he chose for the formation of territorial gentry, consisted of the official functionaries, whether Mohammedan or Hindoo, employed under the Mogul government, in connection with the land revenues. In Bengal these officials were termed zemindars; but, as has been stated, they existed under

* *History of the Mahrattas*, vol. i., p. 461.

† Malcolm's *Central India*, vol. ii., p. 21.

made with each collective body of ryots, or with the heads of a village.

In 1818, the home authorities determined to send out Sir T. Munro as governor, to re-enforce the Ryotwar plan, under some modifications, such as a reduction of assessment, varying from 12 to 25 per cent., where found most exorbitant, with remissions of taxation on failure of crops.—Several parts of the plan were undoubtedly marked by benevolence, and read well on paper; but in general, they were either impracticable, or depended so much on individual judgment and energy, as to afford little prospect of extensive utility. As a whole, the system proved very expensive to the state; full of intricate and harassing details for collectors, it abounded in motives for falsehood on the part of the ryots, and in opportunities for chicanery and malversation by the native subordinates; while it necessarily proved a complete barrier to the growth of an independent landed proprietary. The latter was, indeed, a main feature in Munro's project: he openly asserted that the best security for our prolonged and quiet rule, was to keep the cultivators in the condition of vassals or serfs to government:* and he speaks of short leases as necessary to prevent the growth of a spirit of independence, which would be dangerous to British authority. The practical working of the Ryotwarree is too truly conveyed in the following hypothesis, suggested by Mr. Fullarton, a member of the Madras government:—"Imagine the whole landed interest—that is, all the landlords of Great Britain, and even the capital farmers, at once swept away from off the face of the earth; imagine a rent fixed on every field in the kingdom, seldom under, generally above, its means of payment; imagine the land so rented, lotted out to the villagers according to the number of their cattle and ploughs, to the extent of forty or fifty acres each. Imagine the revenue rated as above, leviable through the agency of one hundred thousand revenue officers, collected or remitted at their discretion, according to their idea of the occupant's means of paying, whether from the produce of his land or his separate property; and, in order to encourage every man to act as a spy on his neighbour, and report his means of paying, that he may eventually save himself from extra demand, imagine all the cultivators of a village liable at all times to a separate demand, in order to make up for the failure of one or more individuals of the parish. Imagine collectors to every county acting under the orders of a board, on the avowed principle of destroying all temptation to labour, by a general equalisation of assessment; seizing and sending back runaways to each other;—and lastly, imagine the collector the sole magistrate, or justice of the peace of the county, through the medium and instrumentality of whom alone, any criminal complaint of personal grievance suffered by the subject can reach the superior courts. Imagine, at the same time, every subordinate officer, employed in the collection of the land revenue, to be a *police officer*, vested with the power to *fine, confine,* put in the stocks, and *flog* any inhabitant within his range, on any charge, without oath of the accuser, or sworn recorded evidence in the case."

The annual exaction by government of the last shilling from the small cultivators, is similar in effect to taking the honey every night out of a hive; when a rainy day arrives, the bees make no food, and they perish: thus has it been under the Ryotwar system at Madras, where not one-fifth of the land fit for tillage is under cultivation. During the last half century, several million people have perished from famine and its concomitant, pestilence: thus was it in Ireland when the potato crop failed, and so must it be wherever the population are reduced to the lowest scale of diet compatible with the prolongation of existence, and devoid of resources wherewith to supply a temporary exigency.

The collection of the land-tax from some thousands of miserably poor peasants, living from hand to mouth, has led to another enormous evil, by engendering a systematic plan of cruelty on the part of the native officials. The European collector is expected to realise annually a certain amount for the government, otherwise he will be deemed negligent, and stand little chance of favour or promotion: on the other hand, if he can screw out of the ryots a larger sum than his predecessor—the means unscrutinised—his name stands high at Madras. He tells his native subordinates that so many rupees must be obtained, and leaves them to manage how: the *tehsildar,* knowing that torture is a part of the Moslem system, and that it was recognised under the Mogul rule, not only for compelling suspected persons to criminate them-

* Gleig's *Life of Munro,* vol. ii., p. 158.

selves or others, but also to enforce the payment of the money claimed as due to the state (the non-payment of which is deemed a crime of great magnitude), and finding torture the easiest and most effectual mode of procuring the money required by his immediate superior (the European collector), he resorts to its use in every form; the most usual at Madras being—(1), tying the neck and feet together, placing a heavy stone on the back, and compelling the sufferer to remain in a stooping position, exposed to a tropical sun, until he satisfies the demands of the tehsildar; or falls—it may be, dies—from exhaustion: (2), fastening in a cocoa-nut shell, over the navel, the *pool-lay* insect, or worms, which cause exquisite torture: (3), twisting women's breasts: (4), putting chillies and other hot peppers into the eyes, and into the most sensitive parts of both sexes: (5), thorns driven under the nails: (6), surrounding the person with red ants, whose sting is maddening: (7), tying coir ropes to the muscles of the thighs and arms, and then pouring water on the ropes to produce gradual and extreme tension: (8), application of the *kittie*—two sticks (like a lemon-squeezer), between which the fingers are jammed and squashed: (9), flogging: (10), standing upon one leg in mud or in water, with a large log of wood on the head, under a burning sun. Such are some of the distressing revelations of the Madras Torture Commission in 1854. The European collectors, generally, allege their ignorance that torture was used for the collection of the revenue, although they acknowledge its application for police purposes. But admitting the truth of the denial, they are then placed on the other horn of the dilemma—that is, gross ignorance of the condition of the people committed to their charge: otherwise, they must have discovered the means adopted to squeeze ten rupees out of a man who had only five.

The Torture commissioners, in 1854, remark, that the infliction of physical pain, in connection with the collection of the revenue, is quite unknown in Malabar and Canara; and the reason assigned corroborates the above remarks, which were written previous to a knowledge of the following significant fact:—In those districts "the land-tax is generally light, the people are flourishing; the assessment easily, and even cheerfully paid—the struggle more often being, who shall be allowed, than who shall be made, to pay the government dues; land has acquired a saleable value, and allotments of waste are eagerly contended for."

If anything could open the eyes of those who uphold the Ryotwar system at Madras, these torture revelations ought to do so. The late Mr. Sullivan, member of council at Madras, declared to the author, that when he saw the cartloads of silver leaving his cutcherry (treasury) for Madras, and remembered the poverty of the people from whom it was collected, he shuddered at the thought of their prospect during the ensuing year, as the demands of the government were inexorable, and a certain amount of money must be forthcoming.

The mere lowering of the assessment or tax, though not an effectual remedy, is a great boon. Mr. John Bruce Norton, of the Madras bar, in his valuable letter to the Right Hon. Robert Lowe, on the state of Madras, referring to the heaviness of the assessment in his presidency, says, that the land belonging to the French at Pondicherry, is assessed at four pagodas; while English land, "of precisely the same quality," pays $7\frac{1}{2}$ pagodas: and "in February, 1852, the wise French government reduced its land-tax 33 per cent., as well as abolished all its *petits droits*." It is not, therefore, surprising that the land is there all occupied, while millions of acres lie waste in the English territories at Madras. Mr. Norton has fully exposed the evils of the Ryotwarree, and shown, independently of the duration of the tenure (whether annual, leasehold, or permanent), how heavily it presses on an agricultural people. He says, that in Bengal, where the land is exceedingly rich, the tax averages one shilling per acre on the whole cultivated area; in the North-West Provinces, the average on 22,340,824 acres of cultivated land, paying assessment direct to government, is about 2*s*. 5*d*.; in the Deccan it varies from less than 1*s*., at Poonah, to 1*s*. 9*d*. for the famous black cotton soil at Darwar; the very highest being let at less than 3*s*. per acre. In contrast, Madras, on 14,000,000 acres, wet and dry cultivation, shows an average of 5*s*. per acre; 2,500,000 acres, 10*s*. per acre. The results are thus summed up:—"A people impoverished and degraded; irrigation neglected; land unsaleable; good land thrown out of cultivation from its enormous assessment; mil-

backs—a much more reliable revenue to government.*

An injurious land revenue system has so completely impoverished the presidencies of Madras and Bombay, that neither of these large territorial possessions—the one comprising an area of 138,000 square miles, with 23,000,000 inhabitants; and the other 73,000 miles, with 12,000,000 inhabitants—furnish an income adequate to their annual expenditure: the deficiency is provided from the financial surplus of Bengal, where a just land-tax has been in operation since 1790.

In the fertile districts under the administration of Madras† and Bombay, there is great, and, it is to be feared, increasing impoverishment. There are but two classes of society—the few are money-lenders; the many, poor and borrowing agriculturists. The great bulk of the people live from hand to mouth, and have their numbers almost periodically thinned by famine and pestilence. A strong and despotic government cannot be acquitted of blame, if there be no improvement in the physical condition and moral position of its subjects—if life be a mere daily struggle for the lowest means of existence, and all hope of amelioration be denied.

If the British Crown had refused to grant the land in fee-simple in America, Australia, the West Indies, and South Africa, how few colonists would have gone thither. If the government had annually exacted 30 to 50 per cent. of the produce of the soil in those settlements, who would have felled the forest, drained the swamp, or tilled the ground?—and if no change of rulers could deteriorate the condition of the agriculturists, what interest would they have in upholding existing governments, or in resisting foreign invaders?

The subject is one of vital and pressing interest. In Hindoostan, as well as elsewhere, man will convert a rock into a garden, if it be his own property; but he will suffer a garden to become a desert if he be deprived of that right, and subjected to an arbitrary, indefinite, and often overwhelming weight of taxation. In the former case, he will support the government that secures him in the peaceful enjoyment of his territorial rights; in the latter, he will be induced to wish for a change of masters, under whom his condition may be improved, especially if the tempting bait be held out of the concession of a fee-simple tenure of the soil. Recent events have done much to bring conviction to many minds, of the necessity of grappling with the complicated difficulties of this question. Confiscation has been going on in various parts of India during the whole century of British supremacy; but the mode has been indirect and insidious: the sufferers have been for the most part peasants, unable to set forth the rights and grievances which few of their foreign rulers could justly appreciate. Yet the very idea of wholesale confiscation, even as a measure of retribution, is scouted by the British public; and it follows, that if proprietary rights are to be respected as the groundwork of the settlement of Oude, much more should they be sedulously investigated and guarded in other provinces where no right of conquest can be pleaded. Of Oude itself, nothing has been said in the present chapter; its recent annexation, and the mode of its occupation, necessarily forming an important feature of the narrative on which we are about to enter.

* *A Return for the Year* 1855-'56, *shows the proportion which the Revenue derived from Land, bears to the other sources of Taxation.*

Divisions.	Land.	Sayer, &c.	Moturpha.	Excise.	Total.	Salt.	Opium.	Post-Office	Stamps.	Mint.
Bengal . . .	4,668,156	499,190	—	45,147	5,212,493	1,081,634	4,171,718	44,864	223,552	118,853
N.W. Provinces	4,999,497	302,715	—	—	5,302,212	549,235	—	87,282	169,224	—
Madras . . .	3,642,251	247,033	108,681	—	3,997,965	541,584	—	59,222	71,312	18,640
Bombay . .	2,845,723	115,630	—	—	2,961,353	275,402	1,024,258	22,129	68,496	58,493
Punjab .	954,344	78,990	—	—	1,033,334	203,601	—	23,956	20,167	—
£	17,109,971	1,243,558	108,681	45,147	18,507,357	2,651,456	5,195,976	237,453	552,751	195,986

Customs . . . £2,106,657 Miscellaneous . . . £1,369,892. Gross Total . . . £30,817,528.

† The president of the Board of Revenue at Madras, in a minute dated June 16th, 1854, declares that "portions of the richest and finest lands under the presidency have been thrown out of cultivation, in consequence of the impossibility of paying the excessive assessment charged on them;" and Lord Harris, the governor of Madras, laments "a condition of affairs so unnatural and so hostile to the best interests of the government and of the entire population."—(Parl. Paper, No. 83; June 8th, 1857.)

END OF VOL. I.

THE

INDIAN EMPIRE.

HISTORY OF

THE MUTINY OF THE SEPOY TROOPS.

INTRODUCTORY CHAPTER.

ALLEGED CAUSES OF DISCONTENT—OPPRESSIVE AND PAUPERISING TENURE OF LAND—INEFFICIENT ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE—EXCLUSION OF NATIVES FROM ALL SHARE IN THE GOVERNMENT—IGNORANCE OF THE LANGUAGES, AND AVERSION EVINCED TOWARDS THE NATIVES—EDUCATION, RELIGION, AND MISSIONARY OPERATIONS—CASTE—FREE PRESS—DEFECTIVE CURRENCY—OPIUM MONOPOLY—NEGLECT OF PUBLIC WORKS—REPRESSION OF BRITISH ENTERPRISE—RECENT ANNEXATIONS—INFRACTION OF THE HINDOO LAW OF INHERITANCE—EXTINCTION OF NATIVE STATES—SATTARA, NAGPOOR, CARNATIC, TANJORE, JHANSI, OUDE, ETC.—STATE OF THE BENGAL ARMY; RELAXED DISCIPLINE; REMOVAL OF REGIMENTAL OFFICERS TO STAFF AND CIVIL EMPLOYMENTS; PAUCITY OF EUROPEAN TROOPS; SEPOY GRIEVANCES; GREASED CARTRIDGES—MOHAMMEDAN CONSPIRACY—FOREIGN INTRIGUES; PERSIAN AND RUSSIAN.

NEVER, perhaps, was the condition of British India deemed more fair and promising than at the conclusion of 1856. The new governor-general, Lord Canning, who arrived in the spring of that year, had seen no reason to question the parting declaration of his predecessor, Lord Dalhousie—that India was "in peace without and within," and that there appeared to be "no quarter from which formidable war could reasonably be expected at present."*

The British and Anglo-Indian press, adopting the same tone, declared "the whole of India" to be "profoundly tranquil."† The conviction seems to have been general amid all ranks and classes, from the viceregal palace at Calcutta, to the smallest and most distant English post; and thus it happened that the vessel of the state pursued her course with all sail set, in the full tide of prosperity, till a series of shocks, slight at first, but rapidly increasing in strength and frequency, taught a terrible lesson of the necessity for careful steering amid the sunken rocks, the shoals, and quicksands, heretofore so feebly and faintly traced in those famous charts and log-books—the voluminous minutes and correspondence of the East India Company.

The sky had been carefully watched for any indication of the storms of foreign invasion; but the calm waters of our "strong internal administration," and the full current of our "unparalleled native army," had so long borne the stately ship in triumph on their bosom, that few attempts were made to sound their depths. Those few excited little attention, and were, for the most part, decidedly discouraged by the authorities both in England and in India. The consequence has been, that at every step of the revolt, we have encountered fresh proofs of our ignorance of the first conditions on which rested the general security of the empire, and the individual safety of every European in India.

Our heaviest calamities, and our greatest advantages, have come on us by surprise: we have been met by foulest treachery in the very class we deemed bound to us by every tie of gratitude and self-interest, and we have found help and fidelity among those whom we most distrusted. We have failed where we confidently looked for

* Minute by the Marquis of Dalhousie, 28th February, 1856.—Parliamentary Papers (Commons), 16th June, 1856; pp. 6—8.

† The *Times*, 9th December, 1856.

triumph; we have succeeded where we anticipated failure. Dangers we never dreamed of, have risen suddenly to paralyse our arms; and obstacles which seemed well-nigh insurmountable, have vanished into thin air before us. Our trusted weapons have proved worthless; or worse—been turned against us; and, at the outset of the struggle, we were like men whose pistols had been stolen from their holsters, and swords from their scabbards, while they lay sleeping; and who, starting up amazed and bewildered, seized the first missiles that came to hand to defend themselves against a foe whose numbers and power, whose objects and character, were alike involved in midnight darkness.

Very marvellous was the presence of mind, the self-reliance, the enduring courage displayed by English men and women, and many native adherents, in their terrible and unlooked-for trial; and very comforting the instances of Christian heroism which adorn this sad and thrilling page of Anglo-Indian history: yet none will venture to deny, that it was the absence of efficient leaders on the part of the mutineers, and not our energy and foresight, which, under Providence, was the means of enabling us to surmount the first overwhelming tide of disaster. Nothing can be more contradictory than the opinions held by public men regarding the immediate object of the mutineers. Some deny that the sepoys acted on any "prearranged plan;" and declare, that "their primary and prevailing motive was a panic-terror for their religion."* Others regard the revolt as the issue of a systematic plot, which must have taken months, if not years, to organise; and compare the outbreak to the springing of a mine, for which the ground must have been hollowed, the barrels filled, the train laid, and the match fired, before the explosion.† A third party assert, that our own impolicy had gathered together masses of combustibles, and that our heedlessness (in the matter of the greased cartridges) set them on fire.

It is quite certain that the people of India labour under many political and social evils, resulting from inefficient administration. Human governments are, at best, fallible and weak instruments. In Christian England, after so many centuries of freedom, kept and strengthened by unceasing effort, we all acknowledge how far the condition of the masses falls short, in reality, of what in theory we might have hoped for. How, then, can we doubt, that there must be in India much greater scope for oppression, much greater need for watchfulness. We have seen, in Ireland, a notable example of the effects of absentee proprietorship; but here is a case of absentee sovereigntyship, in which the whole agency is systematically vested in the foreign delegates of a foreign power, few of whom have ever acquired any satisfactory insight into the habits, customs, or languages of the people they were sent to govern.

It is easier to account for the errors committed by the Company than for the culpable neglect of Parliament. We know that an Indian question continued to be the "dinner-bell" of the House of Commons, notwithstanding the revelations of the Torture Committee at Madras, until the massacres of Meerut and Cawnpoor showed that the government of India was a subject which affected not only the welfare of the dark-coloured millions from whom we exacted tribute, but also the lives of Englishmen, and the honour of Englishwomen—the friends or relatives, it might be, of the heretofore ignorant and listless legislators.

A right understanding of the causes of the revolt would materially assist all engaged in framing measures for the restoration of tranquillity, and for a sounder system of administration. The following enumeration of the various causes, distant and proximate, which are asserted by different authorities to have been concerned in bringing about the present state of affairs, is therefore offered, with a view of enabling the reader to judge, in the course of the narrative, how far events have tended to confirm or nullify these allegations.

Land-tenure.—The irregular, oppressive, and generally pauperising tenure of land, has been set forth in a preceding section: and since every sepoy looks forward to the time when he shall retire on his pension to live in his own cottage, under his own fig-tree, the question is one in which he has a clear and personal interest. Irrespective of this, the manner in which the proprietary rights of the inhabitants of the Ceded and Conquered provinces have been dealt with,

* See Indophilus' (Sir Charles Trevelyan's) Letters to the *Times*. Republished by Longman as a pamphlet: p. 37.

† See Sir E. Bulwer Lytton's speech at the Herts Agricultural Society, October, 1857.

is a matter of history with which the landowners in native independent states are sure to make themselves acquainted; and the talookdars and hereditary chiefs of Oude, could not but have remembered with alarm, the grievous breach of faith committed against the proprietors of the soil in the North-Western Provinces.

A general allusion to this disgraceful procedure has been already made;* but the following detail is given on the authority of various papers drawn up by Mr. Henry St. George Tucker. The views of Mr. Tucker were, it should be premised, utterly opposed to any system "founded on the assumption of the government being the universal landlord;" which sweeping assumption he regarded "as a virtual annihilation of all private rights."

The Ryotwar Settlement made by Munro, in Madras, he thought tended to the impoverishment of the country, the people, and the government itself; and was, in fact, a continuation of the policy of Tippoo Sultan, who drove away and exterminated the proprietors; his object being to engross the rents as well as revenues of the country.

The landowners of the North-Western Provinces—including Delhi, Agra, Bareilly, and the cessions from Oude in 1801—have, however, peculiar and positive grievances to complain of. In 1803, under the administration of the Marquis Wellesley, a regulation was passed, by which the government pledged themselves, "that a permanent settlement of the Ceded provinces would be concluded at the end of ten years;" and proclaimed "the proprietary rights of all zemindars, talookdars, and other descriptions of landholders possessing a right of property in the lands comprising their zemindaries, talooks, or other tenures, to be confirmed and established under the authority of the British government, in conformity to the laws and usages of the country." In 1805, a regulation was passed by the same government, in nearly corresponding terms, declaring that a permanent settlement would be concluded with the zemindars and other landholders in the Conquered provinces, at the expiration of the decennial leases. But, in 1807, the supreme government being anxious to extend to the landowners of our newly-acquired territory those advantages which had been conferred on the zemindars of the Lower Provinces, by fixing the land-tax in perpetuity, a new regulation was enacted, appointing commissioners for superintending the settlement of the Ceded and Conquered provinces; and notifying "to the zemindars, and other actual proprietors of land in those provinces, that the jumma which may be assessed on their estates in the last year of the settlement immediately ensuing the present settlement, shall remain fixed for ever, in case the zemindars shall now be willing to engage for the payment of the public revenue on those terms in perpetuity, and the arrangement shall receive the sanction of the Hon. Court of Directors."† Far from objecting to the pledge given to the landholders in those regulations; far from contending against the principle of a fixed assessment, either on the ground of policy or of justice, the Court expressed their approbation of the measure contemplated, and gave it their unreserved sanction. To as late a period as 1813, not even a doubt was expressed in the way of discouragement; and the government of India had every reason to presume that they were proceeding in this great work with the full concurrence and approbation of the controlling authorities in this country. Mr. Edmonstone, in his able and instructive letters to the Court (of 31st July, 1821), has shown most conclusively, that the plans and proceedings of the government abroad received an ample confirmation. "Unhappily," says Mr. Tucker, "different views were adopted at a subsequent period; and since 1813,‡ the whole tenor of the Court's correspondence with the supreme government, has not only discountenanced the idea of a permanent settlement of the lands in the Ceded and Conquered provinces, but peremptory injunctions have been issued to that government, prohibiting the formation of such settlement at any future period." The pledge so formally given to the landholders in 1803, and 1805, and 1807, has accordingly remained unredeemed to the present day; temporary settlements have been concluded, in various ways, with different classes of persons; some of the principal talookdars have been set aside, and deprived of the management of their estates; and the great object seems to have been, to introduce the system of revenue administration§ which obtains in

* *Indian Empire*, vol. i., p. 579.

† Calcutta Records—Regulation X. of 1807; sec. 5.

‡ See Letter of Court of Directors to Bengal, 16th March, 1813.

§ The Ryotwar: see *Indian Empire*, vol. i., p. 575.

the territory of Fort St. George. I (in 1827) was a party to the introduction of leases for thirty years in the Western Provinces, by way of compromise for violating the pledge which had been given to the landholders in 1803 and 1805, to confirm the settlement then made with them in perpetuity. "I trust that this long term will operate as some compensation for their disappointment, and that it will, in a great degree, answer the ends proposed by a permanent settlement; but, as a principle, I still maintain, that permanency of tenure, and a limitation of the public demand upon the land, were boons bestowed under the dictates of a just and enlightened policy, and that Lord Cornwallis is to be regarded as the greatest benefactor of India."*

The measure referred to by Mr. Tucker, which I had myself the satisfaction of assisting to procure, was, however, partial in its extent, as well as temporary in its operation. It can hardly be called a compromise; it was simply a sop thrown by the stronger party who broke the bargain, to certain members of the weaker party, who had no resource but to accept it. The public pledge of a permanent settlement with the whole Conquered and Ceded, or, as they are now styled, North-Western Provinces, remains unredeemed. Moreover, even supposing the landholders could forget the manner in which that great boon was freely promised and arbitrarily withheld, they would still have reason to complain of the irregular and often oppressive assessments to which they were and are subjected. There is abundant evidence on this head; but none of greater authority than that of Colonel Sleeman, the resident at Lucknow; who, being commissioned by Governor-general Dalhousie to inquire into the state of Oude, became incidentally acquainted with the results of our fifty years' government of the half of Oude, ceded to us by the treaty of 1801.

"The country was then divided into equal shares, according to the rent-roll at the time. The half made over to the British government has been ever since yielding more revenue to us; while that retained by the sovereign of Oude has been yielding less and less to him: and ours now yields, in land revenue, stamp-duty, and the tax on spirits, two crore and twelve lacs [of rupees] a-year; while the reserved half now yields to Oude only about one crore and thirty-three lacs. Under good management, the Oude share might, in a few years, be made equal to ours, and perhaps better; for the greater part of the lands in our share have been a good deal impoverished by overcropping; while those of the Oude share have been improved by long fallows." Colonel Sleeman would seem to attribute the greater revenue raised from our territories, to that obtained by the native government, simply to our "good management;" for he adds, that "lands of the same natural quality in Oude, under good tillage, now pay a much higher rent than they do in our half of the estate."† Yet, in another portion of his Diary, when describing the decided aversion to British rule entertained by the landed aristocracy of Oude, he dwells on our excessive assessments, as co-operating with the cost and uncertainty of the law in civil cases, in causing the gradual decay of all the ancient families. "A less and less proportion of the annual produce of their lands is left to them in our periodical settlements of the land revenue; while family pride makes them expend the same sums in the marriage of their children, in religious and other festivals, personal servants, and hereditary retainers. They fall into balance, incur heavy debts, and estate after estate is put up to auction, and the proprietors are reduced to poverty. They say, that four times more of these families have gone to decay in the half of the territory made over to us in 1801, than in the half reserved by the Oude sovereign; and this is, I fear, true. They named the families—I cannot remember them."‡

To Mr. Colvin, Lieutenant-governor of the N.W. Provinces, the Colonel writes, that on the division of Oude in 1801, the landed aristocracy were equal in both portions. "Now (28th Dec., 1853) hardly a family of this class remains in our half; while in Oude it remains unimpaired. Everybody in Oude believes those families to have been systematically crushed."§

The correspondence in the public journals, regarding the progress of the mutiny, affords frequent evidence of the heavy rate of assessment in the North-West Provinces. For instance, the special correspondent of the *Times* (Mr. Russell), writing from the

* See *Memorials of Indian Government;* a selection from the papers of H. St. G. Tucker, edited by J. W. Kaye; pp. 106—137.

† *Journey through Oude, in* 1849-'50, by Colonel Sir W. Sleeman; vol. i., p. 169.

‡ *Ibid.*, vol. i., p. 169. § *Ibid.*, vol. ii., p. 415.

camp at Bareilly, speaks of the "indigent population" of Rohilcund; and asserts, on the authority of Mr. Donalds, a settler and planter there, that the Company's land-tax on certain districts was not less than sixty-six per cent.*

It is to be hoped that a searching and unprejudiced inquiry will be instituted wherever decided and general disaffection has been manifested—wherever such statements are made as that from Allahabad; in which it is asserted, that "one, and only one, of the zemindars has behaved well to us during the disturbances here."†

An exposition of the working of the "model system" in Southern India, is given by Mr. Bourdillon, secretary to the government at Madras, in the revenue department, in a pamphlet published in 1852, in which he showed that, in the year 1848-'9, out of a total of 1,071,588 leases (excluding joint holdings in the fourteen principal ryotwarree districts), no fewer than 589,932 were each under twenty shillings per annum; averaging, in fact, only a small fraction above eight shillings each: 201,065 were for amounts ranging from twenty to forty shillings; averaging less than 28*s.* 6*d.* each: and 97,891 ranged between forty and sixty shillings; averaging 49*s.* 6*d.* each. Thus, out of 1,100,000 leases, 900,000 were for amounts under sixty shillings each, the average being less than 19*s.* 6*d.* each per annum. Mr. Bourdillon thus describes the condition of several million‡ of people subject to the Crown of England, and under its complete jurisdiction in some parts for more than half a century:—"Now it may certainly be said of almost the whole of the ryots paying even the highest of these sums, and even of many holding to a much larger amount, that they are always in poverty, and generally in debt. Perhaps one of this class obtains a small amount out of the government advances for cultivation; but even if he does, the trouble he has to take, and the time he loses in getting it, as well as the deduction to which he is liable, render this a questionable gain. For the rest of his wants he is dependent on the bazaar-man. To him his crops are generally hypothecated before they are reaped; and it is he who redeems them from the possession of the village watcher, by pledging himself for the payment of the kist (rent claimed by government.) These transactions pass without any written engagements or memoranda between the parties; and the only evidence is the chetty's (bazaar-man) own accounts. In general, there is an adjustment of the accounts once a year; but sometimes not for several years. In all these accounts interest is charged on the advances made to the ryot, on the balance against him. The rate of interest varies with the circumstances of the case and the necessities of the borrower: it is probably seldom, or never, less than twelve per cent. per annum, and not often above twenty-four per cent. Of course the poorest and most necessitous ryots have to pay the highest. A ryot of this class of course lives from hand to mouth; he rarely sees money, except that obtained from the chetty to pay his kist: the exchanges in the out-villages are very few, and they are usually conducted by barter. His ploughing cattle are wretched animals, not worth more than seven to twelve shillings each; and all the rest of his few agricultural implements are equally primitive and inefficient. His dwelling is a hut of mud walls and thatched roof, far ruder, smaller, and more dilapidated than those of the better classes of ryots above spoken of, and still more destitute, if possible, of anything that can be called furniture. His food, and that of his family, is partly thin porridge, made of the meal of grain boiled in water, and partly boiled rice with a little condiment; and generally, the only vessels for cooking and eating from, are of the coarsest earthenware, much inferior in grain to a good tile or brick in England, and unglazed. Brass vessels, though not wholly unknown among this class, are rare. As to anything like education or mental culture, they are wholly destitute of it."

Mr. Mead, who resided several years at Madras, and who visited other parts of India, declares, that by the system which the British government have pursued, "the native aristocracy have been extinguished, and their revenues lost equally to the rulers and the multitude. The native manufacturers are ruined; and no corresponding increase has taken place in the consumption of foreign goods. Not a fourth of the land is taken up for tillage; and yet 200,000 men annually leave these shores, to seek employment on a foreign soil. The taxation of all kinds, and the landlord's rent,

* The *Times*, July 6th, 1858.

† Parl. Papers, 4th February, 1858.

‡ According to Mr. Mead, "18,000,000 souls, in Madras, have only a penny a-week each to subsist on."—(p. 3.)

amount to but 5*s.* per head; and yet the surplus production of 23,000,000 is but 2*s.* 7*d.*, and the imports but 1*s.* 6*d.*, each person."*

The people of the North-West Provinces are being rapidly reduced to the condition of those of Southern India; and it is asserted, that they would rejoice at any change which promises relief from a "system" calculated to weigh down, with unceasing pressure, the energies of every man who derives his subsistence from the cultivation of the soil.

The Inefficient Administration of Justice is an admitted evil; the costliness, the procrastination, above all, the perjury and corruption for which our civil and criminal, our Sudder and Adawlut courts, are notorious. Shortly before the outbreak of the mutiny, Mr. Halliday, the lieutenant-governor of Bengal, urged, in the strongest language, the necessity for measures of police reform, which should extend to "our criminal judicatories as well as to the magistracy and constabulary organisation." He adds, after referring to the evidence brought forward in Mr. Dampier's elaborate reports—"I have myself made much personal inquiry into this matter during my tours. Whether right or wrong, the general native opinion is certainly that the administration of criminal justice is little better than a lottery, in which, however, the best chances are with the criminals; and I think this, also, is very much the opinion of the European mofussil [country] community. * * * Often have I heard natives express, on this point, their inability to understand the principles on which the courts are so constituted, or so conducted, as to make it appear in their eyes as if the object were rather to favour the acquittal, than to insure the conviction and punishment of offenders; and often have I been assured by them, that their anxious desire to avoid appearing as prosecutors, arose in a great measure from their belief that prosecution was very likely to end in acquittal, even, as they imagined, in the teeth of the best evidence; while the acquittal of a revengeful and unscrupulous ruffian, was known by experience to have repeatedly ended in the most unhappy consequences to his ill-advised and imprudent prosecutor. That this very general opinion is not ill-founded, may, I think, be proved from our own records."†

The youth and inexperience of the magistrates, which contributes so largely to the inefficiency of the courts over which they preside, arises out of the numerical inadequacy of the covenanted service to supply the number of officers required by the existing system. The Hon. A. Kinnaird stated, in the House of Commons, June 11th, 1857, that in Bengal, there were but seventy covenanted and uncovenanted magistrates, or one to 460,000 persons; and that there were three or four cases of a single magistrate to more than a million souls. It is terrible to think of the power such a state of things must throw into the hands of the native police, and this in a country where experience has taught us, that power, thus delegated, has invariably been employed as a means of extorting money. No wonder, then, that "from one end of Bengal to the other," the earnest desire and aim of those who have suffered from thieves or dacoits, should be, "to keep the matter secret from the police, whose corruption and extortion is so great, as to cause it to be popularly said, that dacoity is bad enough, but the subsequent police inquiry very much worse."

The frequent change, from place to place, and office to office, is urged as another reason for the inefficiency of our system. In the district of Dacca, for instance, the average time of continuance in the magistrate's office, has been, for the last twenty years, not ten months. The extent of the evil may be understood by looking over the register of civil servants, and their appointments. The *Friend of India* quotes the case of a well-known name among Indian officials—Henry Lushington—who arrived in India on the 14th of October, 1821, and, by the 9th of May, 1842, had filled no less than twenty-one offices—a change every year. But during this time he returned to Europe twice, and was absent from India four years and a quarter: his occupancy of each office, therefore, averages scarcely nine months. The journalist adds—"Thousands of miles of country, inhabited by millions of people, would have neither justice nor protection, were it not for the illegally assumed power of the planter and zemindar. There are districts in which the magistrate's court is sixty miles away; and in one case, I know of a judge having to go 140 miles to try a case of murder—so wide does his jurisdiction extend. This very district contains upwards of two millions of people; yet to

* Mead's *Sepoy Revolt;* p. 313. (Routledge, 1858.)
† Minute to Council of India, 30th April, 1856.

govern it there are just two Europeans; and one of these spends a considerable portion of his time in sporting, shooting wild animals, and hunting deer."*

The diminished numbers and impaired efficiency of the rural police, or village chowkeedars, during the last twenty years, is another reason why "our magistracy is losing credit and character, and our administration growing perceptibly weaker." They are, says lieutenant-governor Halliday, so inadequately and uncertainly paid, as to be kept in a permanent state of starvation; and though, in former days, magistrates battled for them with unwilling zemindars and villagers, and were encouraged by government to do so, they are now declared to have no legal right to remuneration for service, and have themselves become too often the colleagues of thieves and robbers. The measures suggested by Mr. Halliday as indispensable to the effectual improvement of the Bengal police, were—the improvement of the character and position of the village chowkeedars, or watchmen; the payment of adequate salaries, and the holding forth of fair prospects of advancement to the stipendiary police; the appointment of more experienced officers as covenanted zillah magistrates; a considerable increase in the number of the uncovenanted or deputy magistrates; an improvement in our criminal courts of justice; and, lastly, the establishment of sufficient means of communication with the interior of districts: because no system could work well while the police-stations and the large towns and marts in the interior continued to be cut off from the chief zillah stations, and from one another, by the almost entire absence of roads, or even (during a large part of the year) of the smallest bridle-roads or footpaths.

The proposer of the above reforms added, that they would involve an increased expenditure of £100,000 a-year on the magistracy and police of Bengal; and this statement, perhaps, furnishes an explanation of the little attention excited by a document full of important but most unpalatable assertions. The onus cannot, however, be allowed to rest solely on the local authorities. The consideration of the House of Commons has been urgently solicited, by one of its own members,† to the report of the lieutenant-governor; and the fact of such flagrant evils being alleged, by a leading functionary, to exist in the districts under the immediate eye of the supreme government, is surely a sufficient warning, not merely of the necessity of promptly redressing the wrongs under which the Bengalees laboured, but also of investigating the internal administration of the distant provinces. It is unaccountable that the judicial part of the subject should have been so long neglected, after the unreserved condemnation of the system, pronounced by Lord Campbell in the House of Lords in 1853. In reply to the complaint of the Duke of Argyll regarding the strong expressions used in a petition for relief, presented on behalf of the people of Madras, his lordship adverted to the mode in which "ingenuous youths" were dispatched from the college at Haileybury, with, at best, a very imperfect acquaintance with the languages of India, and were made at once judges. Even the advantage of only acting in that capacity was withheld, the same youth being one day a judge of civil cases, the next a collector of revenue, and the next a police magistrate. Speaking from experience derived from the appeals which had come before him as a member of the judicial committee of the Privy Council, he thought, "as far as regarded the administration of justice in the inferior courts, no language could be too extravagant in describing its enormities."‡

The testimony borne by Mr. Halliday, in Bengal, entirely accords with that given by other witnesses regarding the administration of justice in the North-Western Provinces. Colonel Sleeman, writing in 1853, declared—"There is really nothing in our system which calls so much for remedy." He says, that during his recent tour through Oude, he had had much conversation with the people generally, and with many who had sojourned in our territory in seasons of disturbance. They were all glad to return, rather than remain in our districts and endure the evils occasioned by "the uncertainties of our law, the multiplicity and formality of our courts, the pride and negligence of those who preside over

* Quoted by Mr. Kinnaird, in *Bengal, its Landed Tenure and Police System.* (Ridgway, 1857; p. 14.) The series of measures provided by Lord Cornwallis, to protect the cultivator under the Permanent Settlement from oppression on the part of the proprietors, have been disregarded; and the consequence of this neglect has been to leave too great power in the hands of the zemindars.—(*Ibid.*, p. 6.)

† By the Hon. A. Kinnaird, June 11th, 1856.

‡ *Hansard's Debates*, vol. cxxiv., p. 647.

them, and the corruption and insolence of those who must be employed to prosecute or defend a cause in them, and enforce the fulfilment of a decree when passed." Colonel Sleeman cites the statements made to him by the Brahmin communities of two villages, invited back by the native authorities from the Shahjehanpoor district, and resettled on their lands; "a mild, sensible, and most respectable body, whom a sensible ruler would do all in his power to protect and encourage; but these are the class of landholders and cultivators whom the reckless governors of districts under the Oude government most grievously oppress. They told me:—

"'Your courts of justice are the things we most dread, sir; and we are glad to escape from them as soon as we can, in spite of all the evils we are exposed to on our return to the place of our birth. * * * The truth, sir, is seldom told in these courts. There they think of nothing but the number of witnesses, as if all were alike; here, sir, we look to the quality. When a man suffers wrong, the wrongdoer is summoned before the elders, or most respectable men of his village or clan; and if he denies the charge and refuses redress, he is told to bathe, put his hand upon the peepul-tree, and declare aloud his innocence. If he refuses, he is commanded to restore what he has taken, or make suitable reparation for the injury he has done; and if he refuses to do this, he is punished by the odium of all, and his life becomes miserable. A man dare not put his hand upon that sacred tree and deny the truth—the gods sit in it, and know all things; and the offender dreads their vengeance. In your Adawluts, sir, men do not tell the truth so often as they do among their own tribes or village communities: they perjure themselves in all manner of ways, without shame or dread; and there are so many men about these courts, who understand the 'rules and regulations' (aen and kanoon), and are so much interested in making truth appear to be falsehood, and falsehood truth, that no man feels sure that right will prevail in them in any case. The guilty think they have just as good a chance of escape as the innocent. Our relations and friends told us, that all this confusion of right and wrong, which bewildered them, arose from the multiplicity of the 'rules and regulations,' which threw all the power into the hands of bad men, and left the European gentlemen helpless!'"*

The comment made on the above assertions, tends to establish their accuracy. Colonel Sleeman says—"The quality of testimony, no doubt, like that of every other commodity, deteriorates under a system which renders the good of no more value, in exchange, than the bad. The formality of our courts here, as everywhere else, tends to impair, more or less, the quality of what they receive. The simplicity of courts composed of little village communities and elders, tends, on the contrary, to improve the quality of the testimony they get; and, in India, it is found to be best in the isolated hamlets and forests, where men may be made to do almost anything rather than tell a lie. A Mahratta pundit, in the valley of the Nerbudda, once told me, that it was almost impossible to teach a wild Gond of the hills and jungles the occasional value of a lie. It is the same with the Tharoos and Booksas, who are almost exclusively the cultivators of the Oude Turaee forest, and with the peasantry of the Himalaya chain of mountains, before they have come much in contact with people of the plains, and become subject to the jurisdiction of our courts. These courts are, everywhere, our weak points in the estimation of our subjects; and they should be everywhere simplified, to meet the wants and wishes of so simple a people."†

The Exclusion of the Natives from all Share in the Government, has been acted on as necessary to our retention of India. Yet many leading authorities agree in viewing the degraded state in which they have been held as a great defect in our system. "We exclude them," said Sir Thomas Munro, "from every situation of trust and emolument. We confine them to the lowest offices, with scarcely a bare subsistence. * * * We treat them as an inferior race of beings. Men who, under a native government, might have held the first dignities of the state; who, but for us, might have been governors of provinces, are regarded as little better than menial servants, and are often not better paid, and scarcely permitted to sit in our presence."

Lord Metcalfe, Lord William Bentinck, and others, have taken the same tone; and the opinions of the Duke of Wellington, Sir Robert Peel, and Lord Glenelg, are sufficiently evidenced in the 87th clause of the Charter Act of 1833, which declares the natives eligible to all situations under government, with certain exceptions. This clause,‡ so generously intended, has

* Sleeman's *Journey through Oude*, vol. ii., p. 68.

† *Ibid.*, vol. i., p. 168; vol. ii., p. 415.

‡ The clause runs as follows:—"That no natives of said territories, nor any natural born subject of her majesty resident therein, shall by reason only of his religion, place of birth, descent, colour, or any of them, be disabled from holding any place, office, or employment under the said Company." Mr. Cameron, a gentleman long and intimately acquainted with India, writing in 1853, says—"During the

proved a cruel mockery, by exciting expectations which have been frustrated by the conditions attached to it, and the determined opposition of the Court of Directors, even when those conditions, including the voyage to England, have been fulfilled.

The monopoly of commerce was the worst feature of the E. I. Company, as regarded the British nation; the monopoly of patronage is its worst feature as regards the Indian population, and not its best as regards that of England. Lord William Bentinck stated the case very ably in his evidence before the select committee on steam communication with India in 1837. "The bane of our system is not solely that the civil administration is entirely in the hands of foreigners, but that the holders of this monopoly, the patrons of these foreign agents, are those who exercise the directing power at home; that this directing power is exclusively paid by the patronage; that the value of this patronage depends exactly upon the degree in which all the honours and emoluments of the state are engrossed by their clients, to the exclusion of the natives. There exists, in consequence, on the part of the home authorities, an interest in respect to the administration precisely similar to what formerly prevailed as to commerce, directly opposed to the welfare of India; and, consequently, it will be remarked without surprise, that in the two renewals of the charter that have taken place within the last twenty-five years, in the first, nothing was done to break down this administrative monopoly; and in the second, though a very important principle was declared, that no disability from holding office in respect to any subjects of the Crown, by reason of birth, religion, descent, or colour, should any longer continue, still no provision was made for working it out; and, as far as is known, the enactment has remained till this day a dead letter."*

The number of natives employed in the administration, notwithstanding the large accessions of territory between the years 1851 and 1857 (inclusive), has actually decreased from 2,910 to 2,846. Of the latter number, 856 receive less than £120 *per annum;* 1,377 from £120 to £240 per annum; and only eleven receive above £840.† These figures, when compared with the increased numbers and high salaries of the European covenanted and uncovenanted servants, can hardly fail to suggest a reason why the Hindoos—who frequently filled the chief positions in Indo-Mohammedan states, and almost invariably that of Dewan (or chancellor of the exchequer)—may think the rule of power-loving, money-getting Englishmen, worse for them than that of the indolent Moslem, who, though he sometimes forcibly destroyed the caste of thousands, yet never withheld from their race the honours and emoluments of high office. Rajpoots led the forces of Delhi; Rajpootnies (though that they affected to consider a degradation) sat within its palaces in imperial state—the wives and mothers of emperors: Brahmins filled every revenue office, from that of the treasurer-in-chief to the lowest clerk; all the financial business being transacted by them. The Great Moguls, the minor Mohammedan sovereigns, and their chief retainers, were spendthrifts rather than hoarders: they won kingdoms with their swords; and, like all conquerors, looked to reap where they had not sown; but avarice, or the love of money for its own sake, was very rare among them. They sat on their silver howdahs, on the backs of their elephants, and threw rupees, by bagsful, among the people, who always benefited, at least indirectly, by the lavish expenditure for which they furnished the means.

The modern Brahmins (whatever their ancestors may have done) certainly evince more acquaintance with, and predilection for, the practice of the rules of Cocker, than for the abstract study of the Vedas, and the geographical and astronomical absurdities of the Shastras. They are born diplomatists, as well as financialists. Our greatest statesmen have acknowledged their remarkable ability. The despatches, especially the supplementary ones, of the late Duke of Wellington, abound with evidence of this: and when describing the character of Talleyrand, the duke could find no better comparison than that he was "like Eitel Punt (the

twenty years that have [since] elapsed, not one of the natives has been appointed to any office except such as they were eligible to before the statute." Mr. Henry Richard, commenting on this policy, remarks—"In adopting this course, and treating the natives as a conquered and inferior race, on no account to be admitted to political and social equality with ourselves, we are not only violating the dictates of justice and of Christian morality, but we are disregarding all that the experience of the past has taught us to be wise policy with a view to permanent success."—(*Present and Future of India under British Rule*, p. 37.)

* Parl. Papers, 26th April, 1858; p. 201.

† Parl. Paper (House of Commons), 16th April, 1858.

Brahmin minister of Sindia); only not so clever."* Such men as these can hardly be expected to endure, without resentment, treatment which keeps the promise to the ear, yet breaks it to the sense.

In England we have grown used to the assertion, that there is no such thing as public opinion or discussion among the natives: but this is a mistake, and only proves that we have overlooked its rise and progress. The public meetings held in every presidency, the numerous journals, and, still more, the political pamphlets published by natives, attest the contrary. Of the latter class one now lies before me, written in English—fluent, grammatical English—with just a sufficient tinge of Orientalism to give internal evidence of the veritable authorship. The writer, after admitting the protection afforded by British rule from external violence and internal commotion, adds —"But it has failed to foster the growth of an upper class, which would have served as a connecting link between the government and the mass of the people. The higher order of the natives have, ever since its commencement, been shut out of all avenues to official distinction. They may acquire colossal fortunes in commercial and other pursuits, or obtain diplomas and honours in colleges and universities, but they cannot be admitted into the civil service, or the higher grades in the military service, without undertaking a voyage to England, and complying with other equally impracticable conditions. The highest situations to which they can aspire, are deputy-magistrateships and Sudder ameenships."†

Ignorance of the Languages, and the Aversion evinced towards the Natives, are the causes alleged by Baboo Shew Purshad (inspector of schools in the Benares division), for the "unpopularity of the government, and, consequently, of all the miseries under which the country labours." The reluctance of the English functionaries to mix with the natives, has prevented their acquiring that thorough knowledge of their sentiments and capabilities, social and moral condition, internal economy, wants, and prejudices, which are essential to successful government. "In England," says the writer just quoted, "you have only to pass good acts, and draw good rules, and people will take upon themselves to see that they are worked in the right way, and for their benefit, by the local authorities; but here the case is otherwise: the best regulations can be turned into a source of the worst oppression by an unscrupulous and exacting magistrate; and if you give us a good magistrate, he can keep us happy without any regulation at all. The Punjab owes its happiness more to Sir John Lawrence and Messrs. Montgomery and Macleod, than to any system or regulation. * * * It is owing to these few officers, who come now and then to the lot of some districts, that people have not yet despaired and risen in a body. * * * The government will feel, no doubt, stronger after the suppression of the mutiny than they ever were. If the hatred of their countrymen towards the natives increases in ratio to the increase of power, as hitherto, the disaffection of the people, and the unpopularity of the government, will increase also proportionally. The consequences are obvious: and, be assured, the country will be desolated and ruined."‡

Englishmen, generally, have no gift for languages; and this has been always one of their weak points as rulers of India, where it is of the first importance that all functionaries, whether civil or military, should be—not first-rate Grecians, or versed in black-letter lore—but able to converse, in the vernacular dialect, with the men over whom they bear rule. Had such knowledge been at all general, warnings would, in all human probability, have been received of the combinations (such as they were) which preceded the massacres of Meerut, Cawnpoor, and Jhansi. It is a serious defect in the system (springing, no doubt, from the monopoly of patronage), that so little trouble has been taken to promote the efficiency of the servants of the Company, as administrators of a delegated despotism. Lord Wellesley strove earnestly for this end; but his efforts were coldly received, and are even now insufficiently appreciated.

So far as the natives are concerned, sending out "incapables" to bear rule over them, manifests a shameful indifference to

* Kaye's *Life of Malcolm*, vol. i., p. 241.

† *The Mutinies, the Government, and the People*; by A Hindoo; p. 36. (Printed at Calcutta, 1858.)

‡ *Thoughts of a Native of Northern India on the Rebellion, its Causes and Remedies* (Dalton, Cockspur-street, 1858): with a Preface, written at Calcutta, and signed "M. W."—initials which suggest the name of a well-known member of the Bengal (uncovenanted) service. The Dedication to H. C. T., Esq., is similarly suggestive.

their interests, and is inflicting a wrong, of which we cannot hope to escape the penalty. "It is suicidal to allow India to be a refuge, as it is at present to a great extent, for those of our youth who are least qualified to make their way in their own country; and it is such an insult to the natives, who are full of intelligence, and are making great progress in European knowledge of all kinds, that if anything could excuse them for rebelling, it would be this."

This is plain speaking from an authority like Indophilus; and what he adds with regard to young officers is equally applicable to civilians:—"It should not be left, as it is at present, to the decision of a young man whether he will pass in the native languages or not. The power of understanding his men, and of rendering himself intelligible to them, should be considered an indispensable qualification; and those who cannot, or will not, acquire this necessary accomplishment, should be removed from the service. Every officer should be presumed to understand the language of his soldiers."*

The change which has taken place in Anglo-Indian society, has, without doubt, been a painful one for the natives. The very large increase in the proportion of Englishwomen who now accompany their husbands, fathers, and brothers to India, has tended to decrease the association with the native gentry; and these are becoming yearly less able to vie with the Europeans. One branch of the intercourse of former days has greatly diminished; the conventionalities have become more stringent; the temptations have decreased; the shameless profligacy described by Clive† no longer exists; and a dark-coloured "beebee" (lady), the mother of a large family of Eurasians, would not now be considered a fit head for the household of a distinguished military or civil servant. How far any radical reform has taken place, or whether the great "social evil" has only changed its hue, it is hard to say; but several trustworthy witnesses assert as an evident fact, that the Europeans and natives of all classes associate far less than they used to do, and that many of the former have adopted a supercilious tone towards the latter, which is equally impolitic, unjust, and inconsistent with the usual refining and softening effect of legitimate domestic intercourse.

The repeated use of the word "niggers" in recent books of Indian memoirs, and in the correspondence published in the public journals,‡ is itself a painful and significant symptom. An American traveller asks, how we can reconcile our denunciation of the social inequality of the negro and white races in America with our own conduct to the East Indians? "I allude," he says, "to the contemptuous manner in which the natives, even those of the best and most intelligent classes, are almost invariably spoken of and treated. The tone adopted towards the lower classes is one of lordly arrogance; towards the rich and enlightened, one of condescension and patronage. I have heard the term 'niggers' applied to the whole race by those high in office; with the lower order of the English it is the designation in general use."§

Sir Charles Napier considered, that nothing could be worse than the manners of Englishmen in India towards natives of all ranks. Therefore, when endeavouring to bring into operation the resources of Sinde, he refused British officers a passage on board his merchant steamers, knowing that "if granted, they would go on board, occupy all the room, treat my rich merchants and supercargoes with insolence, and very probably drink and thrash the people."‖

Religion and Education.—Missionary operations are alleged to have had their share in jeopardising the permanence of our power; while, on the contrary, the advocates of religious enterprise assert, that had the messengers of the glad tidings of universal peace and good-will been suffered to have free way in India, as in every other dependency or colony of the British empire, such an exposition of the tenets of Protestant Christianity would long since have been afforded to the intelligent and argumentative Hindoos, as would have rendered it impossible for the most artfully-concocted rumours, founded on the most unfortunate combination of circumstances, to persuade them (in the teeth of a hundred years' experience to the contrary), that force and fraud would ever be used to compel the

* Letter to the *Times*, September 25th, 1857.

† *Indian Empire*, vol. i., p. 307.

‡ A writer in the *Times*, "who has passed his life in India," asserts, that "the white and the dark man are no more equal, and no more to be governed by the same rules, than the man and the ape."—("H." Nov. 23rd, 1857.) It is much to be regretted, that such mischievous and exceptional opinions as these should find unqualified expression in a journal which circulates largely throughout India.

§ Taylor's *Visit to India, &c., in* 1853; p. 273.

‖ *Life*, by Sir William Napier; vol. iii., p. 473.

adoption of a creed which appeals to the reason, and requires the habitual exercise of the free-will of every disciple.

With some few and partial exceptions, the policy of the home and local government has been steadily and even sternly repressive of all attempts for the extension of Christianity; and every concession made has been wrung from them by the zeal of influential individuals, supported by public opinion. It needs not to establish this fact on evidence, or to remind the reader that English missionaries were not even tolerated in India until the year 1813; that Marshman and Carey were compelled to take up their residence without the British frontier, in the Danish settlement of Serampoor; that Judson and his companions were actually deported; and that Robert Haldane's munificent and self-sacrificing intention of expending £40,000 on the formation of an effective mission for Benares, was frustrated by the positive prohibition of government, despite the efforts of Wilberforce and others.

An Indian director is said to have declared, that "he would rather a band of devils landed in India than a band of missionaries;"* and his colleagues acted very much as if they shared his conviction.

Secular education was long viewed by the East India Company as a question in which they had no concern; and the efforts made by the Marquis Wellesley and others, were treated with an indifference amounting to aversion. At length public opinion became decided on the subject; and, in 1813, the sum of £10,000 was, by the determination of parliament, decreed to be annually appropriated, out of the revenues of India, for the cultivation of exclusively Hindoo and Mohammedan lore.

In 1824, Mr. Mill (the historian, who entered the service of the Company after writing his famous exposition of the worst features of their rule) was ordered to prepare a despatch on the subject of education. He did so, and in it boldly laid down the principle of inculcating sound truth, in opposition to the absurd fictions of the Shastras. The directors accepted his *dictum*, and founded English schools and colleges for exclusively secular instruction. Lord W. Bentinck, in 1834, pursued a similar course; and a few thousand youths (including Nana Sahib) learned to talk English fluently, to quote Shakespeare, Pope, Addison, and Byron, instead of the Ramayana and the Mahabharata, Hafiz or Sadi; and to jeer with the flippancy of superficial scepticism at the ignorance of their parents and countrymen, in asserting that the earth rests on eight elephants, a serpent, a turtle, and such like;† and at the Mussulmans, for believing in Mohammed's journey to the moon. After all, such instruction was a direct and tangible interference with the religious views of the people. No greater would have been committed, had we placed before them a frank and full exposition of our own creed, choosing Moses rather than Milton to narrate the origin and fall of the whole human race, and trusting to the equally inspired record of the evangelists, to impart, with resistless power, the divinely revealed mystery of man's redemption.

We have taught the whole truth as regards material things—that the earth is round, for instance, and that the ocean is everywhere the same; in opposition to the Brahminical doctrine, that the earth consists of seven continents, divided by seas composed respectively of salt-water, wine, sugar-cane juice, clarified butter, curds, milk, and fresh-water. Spiritual truth we have not ventured to set forth; and the conquerors who represent a nation which applauds itself for the maintenance in strict union of church and state, have become the voluntary exponents of a neutral system which closely resembles practical infidelity. And practical infidelity is the cause to which alone our conduct is attributed by the more intelligent class of the natives. They know that the government is firm even to obstinacy in the maintenance of its convictions, and they utterly discredit the reality of a belief which can co-exist with the temporising and cowardly half measures employed by those who are in all other things habitually positive and outspoken.

The Anglo-Indian authorities were not, however, all blind or indifferent to the workings of the "Godless colleges." In Madras, a strong feeling grew up in favour of the teaching of the Bible in government schools. The Marquis of Tweeddale, then governor, shared and ably expressed this opinion, declaring, that "it required a more solid foundation than is to be found in the Hindoo or Mohammedan faith, to bear the change which learning operates on the mind of those who emerge out of a state of ignorance, and attain those mental

* Quoted by the Hon. A. Kinnaird—Exeter Hall, Jan. 5th, 1858.

† Arthur's *Mysoor*, p. 91.

acquirements which enlarged education gives. * * * Nor do I see how native society itself can safely and permanently advance except upon this basis. I would therefore adopt the rule proposed by the council, which recognises the Bible as a class-book in the government schools, but at the same time leaves it free to the native student to read it or not, as his conscience may dictate, or his parent may desire."*

The Court of Directors refused to comply with Lord Tweeddale's recommendation, and persevered in their previous resolve, despite the remonstrances of the Madras council, and their clear exposition of the mistaken view on which that determination was founded. An able pen wrote a denunciation of the system, which now reads like a prophecy:—"The government does not know what it is doing. No doubt it is breaking down those superstitions, and dispersing those mists, which, by creating weakness and disunion, facilitated the conquest of the country; but, instead of substituting any useful truth, or salutary principles, for the ignorance and false principles which they remove, they are only facilitating the dissemination of the most pernicious errors, and the most demoralising and revolutionary principles. I have been appalled by discovering the extent to which atheistical and deistical writings, together with disaffection to the British government and hatred to the British name, have spread, and are spreading, among those who have been educated in government schools, or are now in the service of government. The direction of the government system of education is rapidly falling into the hands of astute Brahmins, who know how to take advantage of such a state of things, and at the same time to strengthem themselves by an alliance with Parsee and Mussulman prejudices; while the European gentlemen who still remain nominally at the head of the system, know nothing of the under-currents which pervade the whole, or consider themselves as bound, either by principle or policy, not to make any exertions in favour of Christian truth; while the professed object of the government is to give secular instruction only."†

* See Lord Tweeddale's Minute, August 24th, 1846, and reply thereto.—Sixth Report of House of Lords, 1853; pp. 189; 152.

† Testimony of Professor Henderson, of the Bombay Government Schools, dated 31st October, 1803; published in a Discourse upon his death, by Dr. Wilson president of the Bombay Literary Society.

In April, 1847, an order was issued by the Court of Directors to the governor-general, requiring, that the principle which had been "uniformly maintained, of abstaining from all interference with the religion of the natives of India," should be rigidly enforced. A paragraph in a previous despatch (to Madras, 21st May, 1845), declared it to be "the duty of government, and not less of its officers, to stand aloof from all missionary labours, either as promoting or as opposing them." At this time, it was well-known that many of the most esteemed officials, civil and military, were, and had been for years past, members of committees of Bible and Missionary societies. A public demand for "specific instructions" regarding the meaning of the directors, was made by their servants; and this, together with the privately expressed opinions which reached the governor-general (Lord Hardinge), induced him to withhold the despatch and recommend its suppression; in which the directors concurred, because its publication "might give rise to discussion on a subject on which it is particularly desired that the public mind should not be excited."‡

In the year 1849, a native of high-caste, occupying a responsible position in the Calcutta college, publicly embraced Christianity, and was immediately dismissed by the English authorities.§

The government pursued the system of excluding the Bible from its schools, while the missionaries persisted in making it the foundation of theirs; and the opinion of the natives was evidenced in the large voluntary contributions made by them to the latter. The statistics of 1853 gave the following result:—Government schools, 404; scholars, 25,362: Christian Mission schools, 1,668; scholars, 96,177. The returns showed some singular facts: among others, that the only school at Bangalore in which Brahmin youths were found, was a missionary one.

In 1854, the duty of adopting measures for the extension of education, was avowed in a despatch by Sir Charles Wood; and the doctrine of grants in aid for the support of all schools, without reference to the religious doctrine taught therein, was plainly set forth.

‡ Parl. Papers (House of Commons), 12th February, 1858; pp. 3, 5, 11.—*Letter from a Layman in India;* pamphlet, published by Dalton, Cockspur-street, 1858; pp. 11, 12.—Speech of Rev. W. Chalmers, Exeter Hall, January 5th, 1858.

§ *Christian Education for India in the Mother-Tongue*, p. 15.

A minister of public instruction for India was appointed, with a salary of £3,000 a-year; four inspectors, with salaries varying from £1,500 down to £750; and a large number of sub-inspectors: but no single vernacular school* was established, neither was any attempt made to frame and circulate tracts on agriculture and mechanics, or to convey, in the native languages, the more elementary and practical portions of the knowledge generally availed of in Europe for the furtherance of various branches of trade and manufacture.†

The extensive scale on which preparations were made surprised the natives, and the unauthorised and improper statement of some of the officials, that "it was the order of government that people should now educate their children,"‡ created much anxiety. Yet proselytising was neither contemplated nor desired. The Calcutta Bible Society requested permission of the Council of Education to place a copy of the Bible, in English and the vernacular, in the library of each government school and college. It was notorious that the Koran and the Shastras were there; yet the council declined to give the Bible a place beside them, because it would be a breach of "neutrality."§

In England, and even in India, the authorities generally seem to have had no misgivings as to the result of purely secular teaching. Some few, however, deprecated education of any kind to any extent; and this party included a late governor-general, Lord Ellenborough, who declared his belief of its incompatibility with the maintenance of British dominion in India—a conviction, the ground of which is explained by a subsequent statement made by his lordship in his place in parliament (in 1852), that "no intelligent people would submit to our government."‖

With such views, it is not surprising that Lord Ellenborough, when addressing the House of Lords on the 9th of June, 1857, on the recent tidings of the mutiny of the Bengal army, should have adverted with extreme astonishment to a statement which he could "scarcely believe to be true," though he had seen it "distinctly stated in the papers, that the governor-general himself, Lord Canning, subscribed largely to a missionary society, which has for its object the conversion of the natives." The reply of Lord Lansdowne was, that if "Lord Canning had so acted as to give countenance to such belief as the noble earl inferred, he would no longer deserve to be continued in his office." These, and similar expressions of opinion, have done good by affording unmistakable evidence of the feelings entertained by men of high talent and position. A cry arose for "Christian emancipation," and several public meetings took place. On one of these, held at Exeter Hall on the 5th of January, 1858, the *Times* commented in the following terms:—"We have made a great mistake in India. The religious policy pursued by the government of that country, has made us, as one of its own servants declared, 'cowards in the eyes of men, and traitors in the eyes of God.' * * * A stranger to the question, after reading the noble chairman's speech on that occasion, might well imagine that the Hindoos were the conquerors, and we the subjects; that we had been tyrannically debarred, for more than a century, from the free exercise of our religion; and that we were at length seizing a favourable moment to demand relief from these unjust disabilities. All that his lordship, and those who followed him, asked for, was Christian emancipation; * * * and that, under a government acknowledging faith in Christ Jesus, the profession of the Gospel should no longer be visited with penalties of civil disqualification. These are literally the conditions to which our policy has driven us. * * * We were never really neutral; we made ourselves partisans; but, unfortunately, in our anxiety to escape the charge of favouring Christianity, we actually favoured heathenism. * * * All this must now end, if not for truth's sake, for the sake of government itself. Our policy has broken down utterly, and proved destructive to its own objects. There is no mistaking the results of the experiment. Where, asked Lord Shaftesbury, did the insurrection break out? Was it in Madras, where Christians are most numerous, and where Christianity has been best treated? Was it in Bombay, where caste was scouted,

* A Vernacular Society is now being organised in London. It is much needed; for, as its chief promoter, Mr. Tucker, truly says, no people have ever been Christianised through a foreign language.

† Report of Public Meeting for the Formation of a Christian Vernacular Education Society, 20th May, 1858; p. 8.

‡ Parl. Papers, 13th April, 1858; p. 2.

§ *Letter from a Layman*, p. 13.

‖ Dickinson's *India under a Bureaucracy*, p. 117.

and Hindoos taught that government could pay no heed to such pretensions? No; it was in Bengal, where idolatry and caste received the greatest reverence; and in the Bengal army, which represented the most pampered class of the whole population."

One last incident, illustrative of the anti-Christian policy of the Indian government, remains to be quoted. The Sonthals—a wild tribe, resembling our gipsies—were driven into rebellion in 1856, by the misconduct of some railway contractors, the exactions of native bankers, and the outrages committed by the native police. The missionaries materially aided in restoring tranquillity, and succeeded in obtaining the confidence of these poor savages, who were without the pale of Hindoo caste; and the Calcutta authorities entered into arrangements with the Church Missionary Society for the establishment of schools of religious and industrial instruction among them, and specially among the females.* When the measure became known in England, the home government refused its sanction, and ordered the establishment of schools on its own plan, the teachers of which were to be "most strictly enjoined to abstain from any attempt to introduce religious subjects in any form."†

It is interesting to learn, from one of the Hindoos themselves, the view taken by them of our so-called neutrality. Shew Purshad says—"It is absurd to think that the English are hated by the Hindoos on account of their religion. * * * It is not religion, but the want of religion, which has brought so much evil to this country. The people know that the government is a Christian one. Let it act openly as a true Christian: the people will never feel themselves disappointed; they will only admire it. * * * Education must be carried on upon a sounder principle, and religion must be fostered. Don't turn India from idolatry to atheism. * * * Who can detest 'religion?' It is the order of their own Shastras‡ that every man is to revere his own religion. You may have a thousand missionaries to preach, and another thousand as masters of the schools, at the expense of the government, or distribute a thousand Bibles at the hands of the governor-general. The people will not murmur out a single syllable, though they may laugh and jeer; but take care that you do not interfere with their caste—you do not force them to eat the food cooked by another in the gaols,§ or thrust grease down their throats with the cartridges made by Europeans. * * * Difference of caste must vanish, with many other offsprings of folly and ignorance, when its proper time comes. To try to exterminate it now must end in bloodshed."‖

Mr. Henry Carre Tucker, the son of the late chairman of the East India Company (and himself no mean authority¶), confirms the statement, from long personal experience—that so long as we scrupulously abstain from any direct interference with the ceremonial observances of caste, we may teach Christianity as much as we please, adding—"This view is strengthened by the fact, that during the late mutiny, those large military stations have escaped the best where the governors were most zealous for Christianity." He proceeds to instance Peshawur, under Herbert Edwardes; and Lahore, under "those brave Christian men, John Lawrence and Robert Montgomery:" but here we cannot follow him without anticipating the subsequent narrative. His conclusions, however, are too important to be omitted: they are—"That we ought to assume a bolder position as a Christian gov-

* See Mr. J. M. Strachan's *Letter to Captain Eastwick.* (Seeley, 1858.)

† Parl. Papers (Commons), 24th Aug., 1857; p. 2.

‡ See *Indian Empire*, vol. i., p. 46.

§ "Active resistance to the recently introduced messing system in the gaols of Bengal and the N.W. Provinces, has produced bloodshed."—Col. Sykes' Letter to the *Times*, October 8th, 1857.

‖ *Thoughts of a Native, &c.*, pp. 18—34.

¶ Mr. Tucker was connected with the Benares district for twenty-five years: during this period he avowed and acted up to his own high standard of Christian duty, at the risk of being deemed a dangerous fanatic; the more so because the "Holy City" of Benares is the stronghold of the Brahmins, and holds a somewhat similar position, in the estimation of the Hindoos, to what Mecca does in that of the Moslems. Yet, on his departure for Europe in March, 1858, a valedictory address was presented to him, signed by all the principal inhabitants—expressing sorrow at the termination of their official connection, a "deep sense of admiration of his enlarged spirit of philanthropy and almost boundless benevolence," and "gratitude for his zealous exertions in extending the benefits of education." In token of their sense of the manner in which he had employed his few leisure hours in furthering "the welfare, here and hereafter, of those committed to his charge," the subscribers to the address collected among themselves 6,000 rupees, for the obtainment of a full-length portrait of their friend, to be placed in the Benares college; and with the balance, after defraying the cost of the picture, they propose to found a scholarship to commemorate his name. Certainly the Hindoos know how to appreciate Christian disinterestedness when they meet with it.

erument; that it is quite feasible to Christianise our education; and that, instead of causing alarm and disaffection, those dangerous points have, through God's blessing, been the most quiet where Christian exertion has been the greatest. Oude, destitute of all missionary effort, and the sepoys, to whom Christian instruction was closed, were the worst of all."*

The ignorance displayed by the sepoys, and that large part of the Indian population connected with the army, regarding Christianity, is remarkable, even after making every possible allowance for the rigid exclusion of missionary teaching, and the absolute prohibition of proselytism among their ranks.† The cause is obvious—not simply to the minds of earnest Christians, but to the class who have least sympathy with anything approaching religious enthusiasm.

The *Times*,‡ in one of its leading articles, is constrained to admit, that it is because the superior beneficence and purity of our religion have not been vividly and transparently exhibited in practice, that we "have not converted the people who have witnessed the every-day life of British gentlemen and ladies—we will not say to an acceptance of our religion, but even to any high regard for it. * * * We ought to have stood high in that land of many religions, as a consistent, believing, just, kind, and holy people. That we have not even done this, and that we are regarded simply as unbelievers, with little religion except a few negative tenets, which we find convenient for political purposes, must be deemed a shortcoming in our practice. It must be our fault that we Christians stand so much lower in the religious scale of India than we did in the scale of ancient paganism."

While (according to the above impartial testimony) we have not taught Christianity either by precept or example, and while among the sepoys the Bible has remained a sealed book, no such embargo has ever been laid on the Koran. The Mohammedans, themselves esseutially propagandists, have remaiued masters of the situation. Wrapped in a complacent belief of their own superiority, as believers in a revelation more receut and complete than that of their conquerors, the followers of the False Prophet adopt their own classification of "Jews, English, infidels, and heretics;" and really viewing us (in a certain sense) as we do the Jews, have taken pains to communicate this impression to the Hindoos.

Indeed, who will venture to defend from the charge of practical atheism, a government that causes such sentences as "God is a Spirit," to be expunged from its schoolbooks;§ being apparently ignorant that this fundamental truth is the very essence of all that is sound in Mohammedanism, and is acknowledged, at least in theory, by every Brahmin and Buddhist in India.

Caste, and the panic-terror which the idea of its violation may have occasioned, constitute a social and political, even more than a religious question.‖ Sir Charles Napier well defined the difference when he said, that what the natives dreaded, was "not conversion, but contamination." Caste is no universal, immutable law: it is a pure convention; but one which, by the nature of our position, we are bound to respect to a certain reasonable extent.

The traditioual four castes¶ have merged iuto innumerable others. Human passions have proved too strong for the strongest fetters ever forged by a wily priesthood. Iutermarriages have taken place between every variety of caste; and the result is, the general division of the Hindoo population into high-caste (consisting of Brahmins who compose the priest and scholar class, and the Rajpoots, who are hereditary soldiers), low-caste (in which all the Mahrattas, aud

* It would seem as if the government had feared the influence of Christianity among the English soldiery; for it is only very recently that chaplains have been appointed to accompany expeditions. No provision of the kind was made in the Cabool war; and Sir Charles Napier loudly complained of a similar deficiency among his force in Sinde.

† Witness the case of Purrub-deen Pandeh, a high-caste Brahmin (a naik in the 25th regiment), who, though "previously much esteemed in the corps," was summarily removed for having received Christian baptism. This occurred at Meerut in 1819.—(Parl. Papers, 8th February, 1858.)

‡ October 6th, 1857.

§ See *London Quarterly Review*, October, 1857: article on the "Sepoy Rebellion;" by the Rev. W. Arthur; p. 259.

‖ No European can form, though they ought to form, a correct idea of the difference between the prejudices of caste and those of religion. Give a couple of gold mohurs to a pundit, and he will cheerfully compose a book in refutation of his own religion; but give him a glass of water openly touched by you, even through the medium of a stick a hundred feet long, and he will not drink it, though you offer him a thousand gold mohurs. Secretly, perhaps, he may not have objection to do anything either to please you or satiate his own passions. —(*Thoughts of a Native, &c.*; p. 18)

¶ See *Indian Empire*, vol. i., p. 14.

most of the remaining native princes, are included), and, thirdly, out-caste—a section diffused all over India, and forming a large proportion of the entire population. The Abbé Dubois maintained, that they were, in his time, one in five; but an able writer of our own day suggests one in ten as nearer the truth: adding—"Even in this proportion the Indian out-castes would be twenty millions of human beings, or more than the population of all England."*

This class includes the aborigines, or at least the predecessors of the Hindoos, the Gonds, Bheels, Sonthals, &c., who have never accepted caste; and, indeed, could not by Brahminical law find place in it. The barrier is equally impassable for the Mussulmans, whose observance of certain caste rules is worthless in the sight of the Hindoos. No man can venture to foretel how much longer the system may endure, or how soon it may be thrown to the winds. The Jains have caste; the Buddhists (who still linger in India) have none. Then there are the Seiks, originally a peaceable, religious sect, founded by a Hindoo, whose creed was derived from the Vedas and the Koran. Caste was suddenly abolished among them by Govind, their tenth "Guru," or spiritual chief; converts were gladly welcomed from all quarters, and admitted to a perfect equality.†

A similar change may come over the mass of the Hindoos; and as the teaching of St. Paul produced the simultaneous conversion of two thousand persons, so here, whole communities may be led at once to renounce the error which has so long enthralled them. Or, the work may be more gradual—individual enlightenment may be the thin edge of the wedge: but in either case, Christian civilisation is the instrument which alone can prosper in our hands—the only one that affords any rational prospect of leading to the voluntary renunciation of caste. This renunciation does not necessarily accompany conversion to Christianity; though it would seem to be an inevitable consequence.

Some of the Hindoo pamphleteers, however, declare that caste can hardly be deemed incompatible with Christianity, when it exists so evidently, although under peculiar forms, among the English. They ask, whether we do not treat all men whose skins are darker than our own, as if of quite another caste or *breed?* Whether half-caste is not our contemptuous term for an Eurasian? They point to the whole framework of Anglo-Indian society, to its "covenanted" service, to the rigid exclusiveness produced by patronage alike in the military and civil service, in confirmation of their assertion. High-caste, low-caste, and out-caste, with their various subdivisions, are, they say, pretty clearly defined in our practice, however forcibly we may repudiate such distinctions in theory.

To return: the Indo-Mohammedans have, to a certain extent, imitated Brahminical practices as conventional distinctions, and are interested in inciting the Hindoo sepoys to maintain a system which enables them to dictate to their officers the what, when, how, and where, in a service in which unhesitating and unquestioning obedience is otherwise exacted. The natives are perfectly aware that caste is a great inconvenience to the Europeans, and that it materially impedes their efficiency as soldiers and servants. It is this which made them so watchful of every measure of government that might infringe on the caste monopoly of privileges and immunities, which we had unwisely made their "Magna Charta," and which we, strangely enough, took no pains to investigate or define. The consequence of our ignorance of its theory and regulations has been, that we have been perpetually falling into opposite errors—vacillating between absurd deference to pretended scruples, and real infraction of the first and most invariable observances. Persecution on the one hand, undue concessions on the other, have been our Scylla and Charybdis; but it is our ignorance that has made them so.

In considering the operation of caste in India, we must bear in mind that it is a thing hard to preserve intact, and easily destroyed, either by force or fraud. Many comparatively recent instances of both are on record; and Tippoo Sultan especially delighted in compelling Brahmins to forfeit their privileges by destroying kine. The natives know us too well to fear any such ebullitions of insane barbarity or fierce zeal; but it is quite possible they may anticipate our desiring the annihilation of caste on the score of policy, and dread our attempting it by a *coup d'état.* It is alleged that articles in the public journals, regarding the need of soldiers experienced by England in carrying out the Russian, Persian, and Chi-

* *Sepoy Rebellion in India:* by the Rev. W. Arthur.—*London Quarterly Review*, October, 1857.

† See *Indian Empire*, vol. i., p. 154.

nese wars, gave rise to rumours which were circulated among the sepoys, of the anxiety of government to get rid, at once and for ever, of the shackles which prevented the Indian troops from being sent across the Cala-pani, or Black water, to fight our battles in foreign climes.* A Hindoo would naturally cling to the system which was at once his reason and excuse for avoiding expatriation, which he fears worse than death; and his suspicions would easily be roused on the subject.

The readiest way of destroying caste, is by forcing or tempting the party concerned to taste anything prepared by unclean hands —that is, by persons of an inferior, or of no caste; or which contains the smallest particle of the flesh of kine. The Mohammedans abstain as rigidly from tasting the flesh of the impure hog, as the Hindoos from that of the sacred cow. The motive differs, but the result is the same. In both cases, the abstinence respectively practised is one of the first and most generally recognised of their rules. The Indian government could scarcely have been ignorant, when issuing a new description of fire-arms to the sepoys, that to bite a cartridge greased with cows' or pigs' fat, was more to Hindoos and Indo-Mohammedans, than "eating pork to a Jew, spitting on the Host to a Roman Catholic, or trampling on the Cross to a Protestant."† To the Hindoos it was indeed much more, so far as temporal welfare was concerned; for it involved practical outlawry, with some of the pains and penalties specially attached to conversion to Christianity. It is clear, that if it had been necessary to distribute greased cartridges, to be bitten by the troops, not only the greatest care ought to have been taken that no contaminating material should be used in the manufacture, but also that an explicit assurance should have been given to this effect. Yet, the inspector-general of ordnance has stated, that "no extraordinary care appears to have been taken to ensure the absence of any objectionable fat."‡ So that, so far from endeavouring to remove all suspicion from the minds of the sepoys, of any intention to inflict on them the calamity they most dreaded, we did not even guard against its perpetration.

The issue of the greased cartridges, under such circumstances, was unquestionably a gross blunder, and is viewed by many as the exciting cause of the mutiny.

The *Free Press*, and the so-called *Gagging Act* of Lord Canning, have given rise to discussions which bring to mind Dr. Johnson's remark, that opinions formed on the efficacy of a certain branch of scholastic discipline, are apt to be materially influenced by the fact, "of which end of the rod falls to one's share." The evils alleged to have been produced by unrestricted publication, are too circumstantially stated by official authorities to be omitted in the present category; and it becomes necessary to show, if possible, the two sides of the question—that is, the case of those who wield, and those who wince under, the rod of censorship. It is now little more than twenty years since complete freedom of the press was bestowed by Sir Charles Metcalfe.§ The measure was sudden and startling: it was scarcely in accordance with his own previous views; and it was in decided opposition to the opinions which the Court of Directors had from time to time enunciated.

A recapitulation of the restrictive measures adopted in the three presidencies, from 1799 to 1819, is given in an important communication made by "the Chairs"‖ to the president of the India Board, on the 17th of January, 1823. Among other evidence in support of the necessity for a rigid censorship, they quoted the following Minute, written in 1807, by Lord William Bentinck (then governor of Madras), regarding a charge delivered by one of the judges of the Supreme Court (Sir Henry Gwillim) to the grand jury:—

"It is necessary, in my opinion, for the public safety, that the press in India should be kept under the most rigid control. It matters not from what pen the dangerous matter may issue; the higher the authority the greater the mischief. We cannot prevent the judges of the Supreme Court from uttering, in open court, opinions, however mischievous; but it is in our power, and it is our duty, to prohibit them from being circulated through the country by means of the press. Entertaining strongly this sentiment, I would recommend that the order of government may be given to all proprietors of printing-presses, forbidding them, upon pain of the utmost displeasure of the governor in council, to print any paper whatever without the previous sanction of the governor in council, communicated by the chief secretary."¶

* Mead's *Sepoy Revolt*, p. 37. (Routledge and Co.: London, 1858.)

† *Letters of Indophilus*, p. 33.

‡ Parl. Papers (by command), 1857; p. 7.

§ *Indian Empire*, vol. i., p. 431.

‖ The chairman and deputy-chairman of the E. I. Company (J. Pattison and W. Wigram.)

¶ Parl. Papers (Commons), 4th May, 1858.

The opinion pronounced by Sir Thomas Munro, regarding the revolution which a free press would produce throughout the native army, is next quoted; and the writers proceed to express similar and very decided views on the subject:—

"A free press is a fit associate and necessary appendage of a representative constitution; but in no sense of the terms can the government of India be called a free, a representative, or a popular government; the people had no voice in its establishment, nor have they any control over its acts. * * * Can it he doubted that the respect of the natives for our authority would be greatly diminished, and the energy of the government impaired, by a free press? * * * It is impossible to suppose that a foreign government, however strong and beneficent its character, should not be obnoxious in some degree to those who live under it. It is humbling to the pride of the people; and where they differ, as in India, in religion, in language, in manners, in colour, and in customs from those who administer the government, there cannot be much sympathy or attachment between them. Though the situation of the large body of the people may now he greatly better, on the whole, than it was under their native governments, there are not a few, particularly among the Mohammedans, who have suffered from the change. These, we may be sure, will always be ready to avail themselves of any opportunity of retrieving their fortunes, and we know not that they could desire a more efficient auxiliary than a licentious press, labouring daily to extinguish all respect for our character and government in the minds of their countrymen. The tendency and effect of our system, too, has been to beget in the minds of the people at large a respect for themselves, and notions of their own importance, which makes the task of governing them a more difficult one than it was when they first came under our rule. But the delicacy of our situation in India cannot be well understood without special advertence to the circumstance of the government being dependent in a great degree for its security on a native army, which, though better paid, with reference to the wages of labour, than any other army in the world, contains in its organisation some elements of discontent. The exclusion of the natives from its higher ranks must necessarily be a source of heart-burning to men of family and ambition; and when a sense of mortification is united with a spirit of enterprise, their joint workings are not easily daunted or repressed. It may be difficult to retain the fidelity of men of this description, with all the care and caution that can be exercised; but it would appear to be either a lamentable infatuation, or unpardonable rashness, to allow them to be goaded on to revolt, hy means over which we possess or may obtain control. Whatever English newspapers are published at the presidencies will naturally find their way to the principal military stations. Many of the native officers can read and understand English; and by means of the native servants of the European officers, it will not be difficult for them to obtain the perusal of those papers, containing a perhaps exaggerated representation of their grievances or an inflammatory incentive to rebellion, which, from their assemblage in garrisons and cantonments, they have better means of concerting than any other portion of the population."*

* Parl. Papers, 4th May, 1858; pp. 20—23.

The degree of severity with which the restrictions enacted to control the press were enforced, depended of course materially on the character of those by whom the supreme authority was wielded. Lord Amherst used his power as governor-general in such wise as entirely to stifle all public discussion; and Lord William Bentinck, his successor (in 1828), was so impressed by the mischievous effect of this policy, that though, as has been shown, very ready to repress, in the most summary fashion, any real or imagined excess on the part of journalists, he, nevertheless, deemed it necessary to issue a notice inviting suggestions from any quarter for the improvement of public measures, and the development of the resources of the country; and the result was the publication of letters from various quarters, written with much ability and freedom; among which, the first and most important were those afterwards embodied by the Hon. Frederick Shore, in his *Notes on Indian Affairs*.

Lord William Bentinck quitted India in 1835; Lord Auckland came out as his successor in the same year; and it was during the brief provisional sway of Sir Charles (afterwards Lord) Metcalfe, that the important measure was adopted of giving complete freedom to the press. In explaining the difference between his own opinions and those of his predecessor, Sir Charles says—

"His lordship, however, sees further danger in the spread of knowledge and the operations of the press. I do not, for my own part, anticipate danger as a certain consequence from these causes. I see so much danger in the ignorance, fanaticism, and barbarism of our subjects, that I rest on the spread of knowledge some hope of greater strength and security. * * * The time is past when the operations of the press could be effectually restrained. Even if that course would be any source of safety (which must be very doubtful), nothing so precarious could in prudence be trusted to. If, therefore, increase of danger is really to be apprehended from increase of knowledge, it is what we must cheerfully submit to. We must not try to avert it; and, if we did, we should fail."†

Lord Elphinstone (the present governor of Bombay), in commenting on this passage, truly says, that Lord Metcalfe "considers the freedom of the press, and the diffusion of knowledge, as convertible terms;" and expresses his surprise that a statesman who entertained such alarming notions of the insecurity and unpopularity of our rule, should have been the man to abolish the

† *Selections from the Metcalfe Papers*, p. 197.

few remaining restrictions deemed indispensable by his predecessor.*

In 1841, Lord Auckland revoked an order passed in 1826, prohibiting public servants from being connected with newspapers as editors or proprietors. Next came Lord Ellenborough; who found his tranquillity so disturbed by the "abuse" of the press, that after three months' residence in India, he ceased "to read a word that appeared in the newspapers."† The commander-in-chief, Lord Gough, is alleged to have avowed with yet more stoical philosophy, that "for his part, he never read any paper but the *Tipperary Journal*." The governor-general deemed it the most judicious course to treat all attacks on his administration with silent contempt; and, in 1843, he issued an order of opposite tenor to that of Lord Auckland; which, by enforcing strict secrecy regarding all information officially obtained, neutralised the power which had been freely exercised under the express sanction of the three previous rulers.

"Lord Ellenborough's general order," says Indophilus, "and the disposition which was shown to place a strict interpretation upon it, effectually restrained the pens of the Company's servants; and no government could stand such pounding and kicking, and bedaubing and besmearing, as ensued." Statements, however false, put forth in ignorance or from malice prepense, were left to be copied into the native papers; and no denial, no antidote in any shape, was offered. For instance, a paragraph went the round of the newspapers, that it was intended to annex the Rajpoot states; and although great disquiet was thereby occasioned throughout Rajpootana, no contradiction was ever published.‡

The Afghan war, and the annexation of Sindc, were subjects on which the authorities were perhaps wise in preferring to submit to comments which they might treat as calumnious, rather than engage in controversy; but sometimes leading officials, more sensitive or less discreet than their superiors, broke all bounds, and declaimed against the press in terms of unmeasured invective. The brave, testy, inconsistent general, Sir Charles Napier, who came to India at sixty years of age with five pounds in his pocket, for the sake of providing for his family,§ and who did provide for them magnificently, by what he termed that "very advantageous, useful, humane piece of rascality," the seizure of Sinde;‖—this man (who was as ready with his pen as with his sword, and, in either case, fought ever without a shield) fairly flung himself into a hornet's-nest by his reckless and indiscriminate abuse of those "ruffians,"¶ whom he boasted of taking every public opportunity of calling "the infamous press of India."** One of them excited his special displeasure by taking part against him in the Outram controversy—Dr. Buist, of the *Bombay Times*, whom Sir Charles alternately threatened with a law-suit and a horse-whipping, and of whom he spoke at a public dinner as that "blatant beast;"†† a *mot* which he duly records, and which Sir William has not thought it derogatory to his brother's fame to publish.

With such personal feelings as these, it is not to be wondered that Sir Charles should regard the public statements of the journalists with jealous aversion, and should accuse them of desiring to excite mutiny among the troops; of inciting the hostile tribes to rise against them; of glorying in the sufferings of their countrymen; and many similar accusations in which the fiery old warrior gave vent to his irrepressible belligerence. His is not fair testimony concerning the operation of a free press; and it is necessary to turn to more impartial witnesses. Sir Charles Trevelyan

* Minute of 24th June, 1858. Parl. Papers (House of Commons), 4th May, 1858; pp. 52, 53.

† Debate, 27th Dec., 1857.—*Times* report.

‡ *Letters of Indophilus*, p. 48.

§ *Life*, vol. iii., p. 194. ‖ *Ibid.*, vol. ii., p. 218.

¶ *Ibid.*, vol. ii. p. 305. Dr. Buist (editor of the *Bombay Times*, and sheriff of Bombay), in a pamphlet entitled, "Corrections of a Few of the Errors contained in Sir William Napier's Life of his Brother, in so far as they affect the Press of India," gives some valuable statements regarding the Indian newspapers; of which he says there were, in 1843, about thirty; costing close on £100,000 a-year for their maintenance—deriving their chief support, and nearly all their intelligence from officers of the British army. The *Englishman* (Calcutta) was conducted by Captain McNaughton (Bengal Army) and Mr. (now Sir Ronald McDonald) Stevenson, projector and engineer of the great Bengal railway: *Hurkaru*—Mr. John Kaye, Bengal artillery, now of the India House (author of the *History of the Afghan War*): *Calcutta Star and Morning Star*—Mr. James Hume, barrister, now police magistrate of Calcutta: *Friend of India*—the well-known Mr. John Marshman: *Bombay Courier*, by Mr. W. Crawford, barrister, now senior magistrate of police: and *Bombay Gentleman's Gazette*, by Mr. P. J. McKenna.—(p. 15.)

** *Life*, by Sir William Napier, vol. iii., p. 124.

†† *Ibid.*, vol. iii., p. 294.

asserts, that it has been, "on the whole, highly beneficial:" and that—

"There cannot be a greater evil than that public officers should be exempted from the control of public opinion. In Lord William Bentinck's, Lord Metcalfe's, and Lord Auckland's time, the press was held in wholesome respect by the public functionaries at the most remote stations, and it acted as a sort of moral preventive police. * * * We used to call it the Parliament of the Press. It may safely be said, that there was not a single good public measure which was not powerfully aided by it. As regards the native press, some newspapers were conducted in a creditable manner in the English language, by and for the natives, who had received an English education; others were published in the native language by the missionaries: and it must not be supposed that the remainder, which were written by natives in the native languages, did nothing but preach sedition. Their standard, both of intelligence and morality, was, no doubt, below that of the English newspapers; but they opened the minds of the natives to an interest in general topics, *and taught them to think, from which every thing else might be expected.*"*

Sanscrit literature proves that the Hindoos were a thoughtful people before the English set foot in India; but the spread of European and "non-religious" theories, has been certainly likely to teach them to reason in an entirely different fashion. We know that Voltaire, Rousseau, Diderot, and Condorcet gave currency to ideas which took a very practical form in the French Revolution. These writers, with the English infidel, Tom Paine, have found imitators and admirers in India, and their doctrines are flung abroad like firebrands by the native press. A blind, unreasoning distrust of all governments—a fierce disaffection towards all constituted authorities—thirst for license under the name of freedom; such are the fruits of the tree of knowledge, apart and contra-distinguished from the tree of life. A saying, attributed to the Duke of Wellington, is often cited against the danger attendant on promoting education without religion—that of making men "clever devils." No better illustration of this need be adduced than the terrible scenes enacted by the Bengal sepoys, among whom native newspapers of the worst class have freely circulated. The utter indifference so long evinced by government, regarding the number, tone, and character of the native journals, is almost incredible;† indeed, that complete freedom should have been accorded even to the European press, is strangely at variance with the general policy of the Company.

In 1857, the adult male European population scattered throughout India, not in the service, was estimated at only 4,000.‡ The journals must, therefore, to a great extent, have been maintained by officials. Some of them, especially the *Madras Athenæum*, uniformly deprecated annexation; and thus its supporters contributed with their purses, and sometimes with their pens, to oppose the very acts which, in their official capacity, they were bound to enforce.§ It was impossible that the natives should not take a lively interest in discussions which immediately affected them. Even a child, hearing its own name often repeated, would listen; and the natives have done so to some purpose.

Five years ago, one of the ablest and most disinterested advocates for the necessity of Indian reform, as the sole means of averting the blow which has since fallen, wrote:—

"The free press is doing its work in India: the Parsee merchants, the zemindars, the native heads of castes, are beginning to feel their power, to combine, and to ask for redress of grievances; some of them are violent, and these do not alarm me; but some are remarkably temperate; and I confess, that knowing the strength of their case, I fear the men who begin so temperately, and have reason on their side."‖

Sir Charles Metcalfe, in establishing, and Lord Auckland in confirming, the freedom of the press, especially insisted that the boon thus granted might be withdrawn, in the event of its proving injurious in operation. "Should the safety of the state ever demand such a course, in a single hour a law may be passed to stop or to control every press in India: nothing has been lost of useful power."¶

In the middle of June, 1857, when the mutiny was at its height, the supreme government deemed it necessary to pass an act, which, for the space of the succeeding twelvemonth, was intended to replace the press in the position it occupied

* *Letters of Indophilus*, p. 45.

† On application to the East India House for some additional details to those given in the *Indian Empire* (vol. i., p. 523), the writer was informed that the directors had no information on the subject.

‡ Dr. Buist's *Corrections of Sir W. Napier*, p. 40.

§ The *Edinburgh Review* speaks of the Anglo-Indian press as exclusively representing "the opinions of European settlers in the country, or half-castes not in the Company's service," whom it describes as a class bitterly hostile to government. (October, 1847.) Mr. Mead, on the contrary, affirms, that "six out of seven of the whole body of subscribers are in the Company's service."—*Sepoy Revolt*, p. 183.

‖ Dickinson's *India under a Bureaucracy*, p. 20.

¶ Minute, by Lord Auckland, 8th August, 1836.

in 1835, before the removal of all restrictions by Sir Charles Metcalfe. The authorities were unanimous regarding the necessity of the measure, which involved the re-institution of the licensing system, together with a rigid censorship. The act was passed by the governor-general in council in a sitting; and Lords Harris and Elphinstone, the governors of Madras and Bombay, expressed their entire acquiescence. No distinction was made between the English and the native press, the government being desirous to avoid drawing invidious distinctions between European and native subjects. They add, moreover—

"We do not clearly see how any distinction of the sort could be really carried into effect, for there are now more than one newspaper in the English language written, owned and published by natives, almost exclusively for circulation amongst native readers; and although we have no reason to fear that treasonable matter would be designedly published in any English newspaper, we have to guard in these times against errors, indiscretion, and temper, as well as against international sedition. * * * To show that the necessity of controlling the English as well as the native press, is not merely imaginary, it will be enough to state, that the treasonable proclamation of the king and mutineers of Delhi—cunningly framed so as to influence the Mohammedan population as much as possible against the British government, and ending with the assurance, that the multiplication and circulation of that document would be an act equal in religious merit to drawing the sword against us, was published by a respectable English newspaper of this town without comment. For doing the very same thing, with comments having the outward form of loyalty, the publishers of three native Mohammedan papers in Calcutta, have been committed to the Supreme Court, to take their trial for a seditious libel."*

Lord Harris went further than this, and declared "the larger portion of the British press throughout the country," and particularly in the Madras presidency, to be "disloyal in tone, un-English in spirit, wanting in principle, and utterly regardless of correctness in statement."† He complained especially of the seditious matter circulated among the sepoys by a newspaper entitled the *Examiner*, "the mouth-piece of the Roman Catholic priests."‡ Lord Elphinstone considered the unrestricted liberty of the press incompatible with the continuance of British rule. "Systematic abuse of the government," he writes, "misrepresentation of its acts, and all attempts to create ill-feeling between the different classes of the community, especially between the European officers and the native soldiery, must be prevented."§ The home authorities confirmed the act, declaring that they felt no doubt of its necessity.‖

The first English paper threatened with the revoke of its licence, was the well-known *Friend of India*, which, in an article entitled "The Centenary of Plassy," censured the mammon-worship of the East India Company, and declared that "only the intense greediness of traders could have won for us the sovereignty of the country." Mohammedan princes and Hindoo rajahs were spoken of as a class that would speedily die out; and in conclusion, the writer held forth a hope that the second centenary of Plassy might be "celebrated in Bengal by a respected government and a Christian people."

The secretary to government (Mr. Beadon) officially informed the publisher, that the circulation of such remarks, in the existing state of affairs, was dangerous "not only to the government, but to the lives of all Europeans in the provinces not living under the close protection of British bayonets." This communication was published in the *Friend of India*, with satirical comments, which the authorities considered so offensive, that the licence would have been withdrawn but for the resignation of Mr. Mead, who was acting as provisional editor during the absence of the proprictor, Mr. Marshman.¶

The *Bengal Hurkaru* (Messenger) was warned for its exaggerated echo of the vengeance-cry of the London *Times;* a writer, styling himself "Militaire," denouncing the just and wise recommendation of government not needlessly to "embitter the feelings of the natives," and urging that, "for every Christian church destroyed, fifty mosques should be destroyed, beginning with the Jumma Musjid at Delhi; and for every Christian man, woman, and child murdered, a thousand rebels should bleed."**

Ten days later, another article appeared, which contained the following passage:—

* Despatch to the Court of Directors, dated 4th July, 1857. Signed—Canning, Dorin, Low, Grant, and Peacock. Parl. Papers (Commons), 28th August, 1857; pp. 4, 5.

† Minute, by Lord Harris, dated "Fort St. George, 2nd May, 1857"—*Ibid.*, p. 11.

‡ Minute, 22nd June, 1857—*Ibid.*, p. 13.

§ Minute, 24th June, 1857. Parl. Papers (Commons), 4th May, 1858; p. 53.

‖ Letter of Court of Directors, 26th August, 1857—*Ibid.*, p. 30.

¶ Parl. Papers—*Ibid.*, pp. 42—46. Mead's *Sepoy Revolt*, pp. 359—376.

** *Bengal Hurkaru*, 5th September, 1857.

"There are many good, honest, simple people in Calcutta, who are both surprised and disappointed that popular indignation has not boiled up to a higher pitch. They are astounded at finding that Lord Canning has not been already ordered home in irons, and that Mr. Beadon has not been sentenced to be tarred and feathered, and ridden upon a rail, previously to being placed in some extremely uncovenanted situation under a native superior. We are very far from saying that these proceedings would not be appropriate in the cases in question; but we would say to our enthusiastic friends, 'My dear sirs, you are too impatient. All in good time.'"*

The licence of the *Hurkaru* was revoked; but the editor (Mr. Blanchard) having resigned, a new licence was issued to the proprietor. Other English papers have been warned for transgressing the conditions of their licences; but the native editors generally do not appear to have incurred censure.

The existing difficulty seems to be, the course to be adopted with regard to the republication of articles from English papers. The following, for instance, is styled by Mr. Frere (commissioner of Sinde), "a very mischievous perversion of an Indian debate, which, in quieter times, might be amusing." A summary of grievances could hardly be deemed amusing at any moment. At the present crisis, it is not only humiliating, but alarming, to find such statements circulating in Hindoostan on the authority of British parliamentary debates; for the so-called perversion is really a summary of the leading arguments advanced by members of both houses against the East India Company, more especially by the Marquis of Clanricarde, whose speech, it was predicted at the time, would occasion great excitement among the natives of India.

"The *Jam-i-Jamsibid* of Meerut relates, that in durbar of ——, the Marquis of Clanricarde complained much of the Indian government; that a vast amount of rupees was expended among the home authorities in the way of pay, they knowing little of the circumstances of the country; that the nobles and great men of Hindoostan were becoming extinct; and the middle classes gradually suffering damage, and poor people being ruined. It would be proper that the country should be so governed, that the people do not suffer. Some zillahs require a decrease of taxation, and the salt-tax is very wrong. In whatever countries there was fitting management, the latter impost had been abolished. Beside this, in Hindoostan, the system of justice was defective. Moreover, on this account, the English name suffered; and, in Hindoostan, amid ten judges, nine are Hindoostanees, but their pay and position was unimportant and inconsistent with their duties. And the heads of the E. I. Company say, that amid fourteen crore (million) of Hindoostanees, not one is worthy of rank or trust; a very sad and distressing statement, enough to break the hearts of the people of Hindoostan, and cow their spirits. Besides which, he said many more things; in answer to which, the Duke of Argyle was unable to advance any clear argument."†

It would be difficult to know on what ground an editor could be warned for the republication of the above statements, unless it were on the strength of the now repudiated axiom, "The greater the truth, the greater the libel!"

In another case—that of a Persian newspaper, edited in Calcutta by one Hafiz Abdul Kadir—the insurrectionary views of the writer were undisguised. The licence was, of course, revoked; and the press and printing materials seized. It would have been madness to suffer such effusions as the following to go forth:—

"Now, when the drum of the power of the English is sounding so loudly, it is in every one's mouth that the state of Travancore also is to be annexed to the British dominions upon the ground of maladministration. It is also said that the principality of Ulwar will be *confiscated*‡ by government. But at present the progress of *confiscation* is *arrested* by the government of the Almighty Ruler.

"The government should first *arrest* the progress of the disturbances and disorders which are raging in all parts of the country, and then address itself to these confiscations again. I formed a design of going to Worms. But the "worms"§ unexpectedly eat off my head. He (God) is Almighty. He does what he will. He makes a world desert in a breath.

"Everybody knows, and now perhaps it has become quite clear to the *lords of annexation*, what kind of mischief the confiscation of Lucknow has done, causing ruin to thousands of their own friends. * * * Come what may, in these degenerate days, the men of Delhi must be celebrated as sons of Rustum, and very Alexanders in strength. Oh! God destroy our enemies utterly, and assist and aid our sovereign (Sultan)."

With the above characteristic extract this section may fitly conclude, without any attempt to hazard conclusions on so difficult a subject as the degree of control necessary to be exercised for the maintenance of a despotic government, in a crisis so arduous and unprecedented as the present.

* *Bengal Hurkaru*, 14th September, 1857.

† Parl. Papers (Commons), 4th May, 1858. p. 48.

‡ All the *italicised* words are exactly rendered from the Persian by their English synonymes.

§ Kirman, the name of a town and province in Persia, also signifies "worms." The conceit can thus be rendered into English. The whole tone of the article, in the original, is highly sarcastic.—*Goolshun Nowbahar*, 27th June, 1857. Parl. Papers (Commons), 4th May, 1858; pp. 46, 47.

*Currency.**—An ill-regulated and insufficient currency has long pressed heavily on the people, and has exercised a singular influence in the present crisis. Until recently there was only one public bank (that of Bengal) in all India: with much difficulty two others, also under the control of government, were established at Bombay and Madras; but the amount of notes issued by them is insufficient for the requirements of even these cities. Three or four joint-stock banks have been lately formed; but the government has continued, up to the present time, to rely on a bulky and indivisible coin, the silver rupee (worth about two shillings), for its standard circulating medium. The exclusive use, by the state, of metallic money, has occasioned the accumulation of treasure, amounting, sometimes, to fourteen millions sterling, in thirty or forty treasuries, scattered all over the country. Forty to fifty thousand sepoys have been annually employed in escorting money from one district to another, an employment properly belonging to a police force; which has occasioned much discontent, and tended to the relaxation of discipline, and general demoralisation of the soldiery. A paper currency would have answered every purpose of local taxation and payments to the troops: it would have been far more easily transmissible, and it would not have offered so tempting a bribe to native cupidity. In several instances, it is evident that the sepoys were stimulated to the commission of crime by the hope of plundering the local treasuries of much larger sums than were ever allowed to remain in them.

The *Times*† has recently published the following forcible remarks on the subject:—

"Regiments that held Company's paper were faithful until they had exchanged it for gold; regiments that had pay in arrear were faithful until the arrears were paid up. The Company's gold has never received credit for the part it played in the mutiny. Yet it had often been presssd upon the authorities at Calcutta, that a paper currency would be a boon to India. Those who wished for this, probably thought little of the danger of carrying bullion in bullock-trunks or palkies through the jungle, or storing it in exposed places; their object was, in all probability, the extension of commerce and the development of the resources of the country. The policy of the Company was, is, and ever must be, to discourage all independent enterprise within their territories, and they were consistent in refusing to listen to any such suggestions. Now, however, when we are commencing a new era—if, indeed, we are commencing, or are about to commence a new era—this subject must be reconsidered. There can be no good reason why India should not in monetary facilities be placed upon a level with England. There is excellent reason why the troops should be paid in paper money. The absence of the gold is the absence of a powerful temptation, and the bank-note is a guardian of the fidelity of the man in whose pocket it lies."

The *Opium Monopoly*, with its concomitant grievances—the forced cultivation of the poppy, and the domiciliary right of search—ranks among the causes of popular disaffection. The Company obtain opium from the ryots at a very low price, by a system of advances, and sell it for the contraband China trade, at a very high one.‡ An official authority declares, that the peasants in the opium districts of Patna and Benares, are compelled to give up fixed portions of their lands for the production of the poppy. The forced cultivation of this poisonous drug brings on the wretched cultivators the persecuting surveillance of the police; the probability that they may be retaining some portion for private sale, exposing them to every sort of ingenuity which spies, authorised and unauthorised, can imagine, as the means of inflicting fines and extorting bribes.§ The deteriorating influence on the consumer cannot be doubted. In China we have notoriously returned evil for good; exporting ship-loads of their refreshing herb to combat our own spirit-craving propensities; and importing, in defiance of the laws of God and man, millions of pounds' worth of a stimulant which we know to be, when once resorted to, almost invariably persevered in, to the destruction of the body, and, it would seem, of the soul even, of its miserable victim. In India we found the debasing indulgence general among certain classes. Baber and his successors, with the exception of Aurungzebe, were all its habitual consumers; and the able historian of Rajast'han, Colonel Tod, attributes the loss of independence by the Rajpoots, their general deterioration, and the diminished productiveness of the country, chiefly to the same suicidal practice.

* The cash balances in the different Indian treasuries, varied from twelve to fourteen millions sterling. In 1856, the amount was £12,043,334: of this sum, there was in Bengal, £5,117.553; in the N. W. Provinces, £2,251,904 = £7,369,457. The Madras presidency had £2,311,365; and the Bombay, £2,362,510.—(Parliamentary Papers, April 20th, 1858.)

† June, 1858.

‡ J. Passmore Edwards' *Evils of the Opium Trade*, p. 18.

§ See *Iniquities of the Opium Trade:* by Rev. A. A. Thelwell.

But though the East India Compauy did not originate the use or cultivation of opium in all their vast dominions, they have done so in some. It is argued, that the very taxation is itself a discouragement to the cultivation; and this would be the case in a free country; but is not true in India, where there are so many means of compelling the peasant to toil like a serf at any labour for a bare subsistence. That the Company have been voluntarily instrumental in increasing the production, stands on the face of their own records.

On the cession of Malwa by the Mahrattas, measures were taken to raise from that province a revenue similar to that obtained in the Bengal presidency. A powerful impulse was given to the growth of the poppy; but the cost of cultivation was found so far to exceed that of Bahar or Benares, and the transport was likewise so much more difficult, that the excessive production obtained in Central India, scarcely afforded sufficient nett profit to atone for the injury done to the Bengal monopoly. The utmost efforts were made to remedy this, and to prevent diminished cultivation in the old provinces. "Premiums and rewards," says a late chairman of the East India Company, "have been held out; new offices and establishments have been created; the revenue officers have been enlisted in the service; and the influence of that department has been brought into action to promote the production. * * * The supreme government of India, too, have condescended to supply the retail shops with opium, and have thus added a new feature to our fiscal policy. I believe that no one act of our government has appeared, in the eyes of respectable natives, both Mohammedan and Hindoo, more questionable than the establishment of the Abkarry, or tax on the sale of spirituous liquors and drugs. Nothing, I suspect, has tended so much to lower us in their regard. They see us derive a revenue from what they deem an impure source; and when they find the pollution of public-houses spreading around them, they cannot understand that our real object is to check the use of the noxious article which is sold, or to regulate those haunts of the vicious with a view to objects of police. And have we succeeded in promoting these objects? Will any man be so hardy as to maintain, that the use of spirituous liquors and drugs has been diminished by the operation of the tax, or that it has not been everywhere extended? * * * But even if we admit that these objects have been kept in view, or that it is becoming, in the present state of the country, to regulate the vend of spirits and drugs, was it becoming in a great government to exhibit itself as the purveyor of opium to publicans, or—in the words of the Regulation—'to establish shops, on the part of government, for the retail sale of the drug?' Is it desirable that we should bring it to the very door of the lower orders, who might never otherwise have found the article within their reach, and who are now tempted to adopt a habit alike injurious to health and to good morals?"*

Not content with stimulating to the utmost the production of opium in our own territories, we voluntarily extended the curse in the Mahratta districts of Central India, in the Afghan state of Bhopal, in Oodipoor, Kotah, Boondi, and other Rajpoot principalities, by negotiations and treaties, "such as are not, I believe (says Mr. Tucker), to be paralleled in the whole history of diplomacy;" whereby we have bound ourselves to the payment of large annual sums on account of opium. "We make it the interest of the chiefs to increase the growth of the poppy, to the exclusion, in some instances, of sugar-cane, cotton, and other products which constitute the riches of a country, and which ought to minister to the comforts of the people."

These statements are very important, coming from one whose official position, Indian experience, and personal character, give his opinions threefold weight. He adds a brief warning, which, read by the blaze of the incendiary fires of 1857, is pregnant with meaning. "The Rajpoot, with all his heroic bravery and other good qualities, requires very skilful management. The same may be said of the Afghan of Rohilcund, who is still more restless and impatient of control; and if there were not other and better reasons, I should say that it is not safe, with either race—Rajpoot or Afghan—to supply the means of habitual excitement, which must render them more turbulent and ungovernable."†

Sir Stamford Raffles, another acknowledged authority, indignantly denounced the conduct of the European government in

* *Memorials of Indian Government;* a selection from the papers of H. St. George Tucker; edited by Mr. Kaye: pp. 152—134.

† *Ibid.*, p. 156.

overlooking every consideration of policy and humanity, and allowing a paltry addition to their finances to outweigh all regard to the ultimate prosperity of the country. Unfortunately, the financial addition* is paltry only when viewed in connection with the amount of evil which it represents, and which has increased in proportion to the extended cultivation. An experienced authority† states, that wherever opium is grown it is eaten; and considers that "one-half of the crimes in the opium districts, murders, rapes, and affrays, have their origin in opium-eating." Major-general Alexander uses the most forcible language regarding the progressive and destructive course of intoxication by opium and ardent spirits throughout India, appealing to the returns of courts-martial and defaulters' books for testimony of the consequent deterioration of the sepoys; and to the returns of the courts and offices of judges, magistrates, and collectors, for that of the mass of the natives. Under this view of the case, and remembering also the example set by the notorious tendency to drunkenness which disgraces the British troops, there is something terribly significant in the fact, that the fiercest onslaughts and worst brutalities which our countrymen and countrywomen have endured, were committed under the influence of the hateful drugs by which we have gained so much gold, and inflicted so much misery.

The *Neglect of Public Works* must take its place among the indirect causes of revolt; for it has materially impeded the development of the resources of the country, and furnished the people with only too palpable reason for discontent. It was a subject which ought always to have had the special attention of the Anglo-Indian authorities. They should have remembered, that the people over whom they ruled were literally as children in their hands; and should have taken care to exercise a far-seeing, providential, and paternal despotism. Under Mohammedan and Hindoo governments, the princes and nobles have ever delighted in associating their names with some stately edifice, some great road or canal, some public work of more or less utility. It was a fashion which those who made for themselves a fortune and a name, especially delighted in following; and the fact is so well known that it needs no illustration. Every book of travel affords fresh instances. Foreign adventurers have adopted the same beneficent custom: witness the Martinière college at Lucknow. Very few Englishmen, however, have thought of spending on, or in India, any considerable portion of the wealth they made there; the noble Sir Henry Lawrence and others, whose names are easily reckoned, forming the exceptions.

It would occupy too much space to offer anything like an enumeration of our shortcomings in this respect: able pens have already performed the ungracious task; and it needs but a few hours' attentive study of the admirably condensed exposition given by Lieutenant-colonel Cotton (chief engineer of Madras), and of the pamphlets published by Mr. Dickinson and other members of the Indian Reform Society, to be convinced how unjust and impolitic have been our omissions in this important branch of government.

Sir Charles Napier says, that "in India, economy means, laying out as little for the country and for noble and useful purposes as you can; and giving as large salaries as you can possibly squeeze out of the public to individuals, adding large 'establishments.'"‡ The force of this remark is painfully apparent, when the immense number of "collectors," and the extent and enormous expense of the revenue establishment, are compared with the number of engineers, and the cost of the department for public works. The contrast between what is taken from, and what is spent upon India, becomes still more glaring when the items of expenditure are examined, and a division made between the works undertaken on behalf of the government—such as courthouses, gaols, &c.—and those immediately intended for the benefit of the people, such as roads, canals, and tanks.

The injustice of this procedure is surpassed by its impolicy. Colonel Cotton says—

"Certainly, without any exaggeration, the most astonishing thing in the history of our rule in India is, that such innumerable volumes should have been written by thousands of the ablest men in the service on the mode of collecting the land revenue, while the question, of a thousand times more importance, how to enable the people to pay it, was literally never touched upon; and yet, even the

* See *Indian Empire*, vol. i., p. 582.

† Mr. Andrew Sym, who had charge of the Company's opium agency at Goruckpoor. See pamphlets on the *Opium Trade*; by Major-general Alexander and Mr. W. S. Fry.

‡ *Life*, vol. ii., p. 428.

question of the amount of taxation was utterly insignificant in comparison with that. While we have been labouring for a hundred years to discover how to get twenty lacs out of a district which is not able to pay it, not the least thought has been bestowed on the hundreds of lacs it was losing from the enormous cost of transit, which swallowed up all the value of the ryot produce, if they raised it.* * * * If we take the whole loss to India, from want of communication, at only twenty-five million sterling, it is twelve times as great a burthen as the interest of the [Indian] debt. * * * Public works have been almost entirely neglected in India. The motto hitherto has been—'do nothing, have nothing done, let nobody do anything.' Bear any loss, let the people die of famine, let hundreds of lacs be lost in revenue for want of water, rather than *do* anything. * * * Who would believe, that without half-a-dozen miles of real turnpike-road, with communications generally in the state that they were in England two centuries ago—with periodical famines and a stagnant revenue—the stereotyped answer to any one who urges improvement is, 'He is too much in a hurry—he is too sanguine—we must go on by degrees;' and this, too, in the face of the fact that, almost without exception, money laid out upon public works in India, has yielded money returns of one hundred, two hundred, and three hundred per cent., besides innumerable other advantages to the community. * * * We have already all but lost one century, to the great damage of our finances and the greater injury of the people."†

It is terrible to think of the amount of suffering occasioned by the ignorant apathy of the nation to whom it has pleased Providence to entrust the government of India. "The neglect of public works" is a vague, unmeaning sound in British ears: no nation blessed with free institutions can appreciate its full intent; and no people under the despotism of a single tyrant, but would rise, and cut off the Pharaoh who demanded the tale of bricks, yet withheld the straw. Nothing but the complicated system of our absentee sovereigntyship, can account for such strange persistence in errors which have repeatedly brought the Company to the verge of bankruptcy, and inflicted on the mass of the people chronic poverty and periodical famine.

In England, we are occasionally horror-struck by some case of death from actual destitution; and we know, alas! that large portions of our working population, with difficulty obtain the necessaries of life; but we are also aware that public and individual benevolence is incessantly at work to diminish the sufferings inseparable, at least to some extent, from an over-populated and money-worshipping country. When Ireland was scourged with famine, the whole British empire, even to its farthest colony, poured forth, unsolicited, its contributions in money or in food with eager haste. Is, then, human sympathy dependent on race or colour? No; or the West Indies would still be peopled with slaves and slave-drivers. The same springs of action which, once set in motion, worked incessantly for the accomplishment of negro emancipation, would, if now touched on behalf of the Hindoos, act as a lever to raise them from the deep wretchedness in which they are sunk. The manufacturers of Manchester and of Glasgow are surely blind to their own interests, or long ere this they would have taken up the subject of roads, canals, and tanks for India, if only to encourage the growth of cotton in the country in which it is an indigenous product, and to diminish their dangerous dependence on America. Had they done so, they would have had their reward. But the active and enterprising philanthropical class, which includes many "successful merchants" in its ranks, perhaps requires to be told, that the subject of public works for India is at once a great call for national justice and individual charity; that there is no conceivable means of fulfilling on so large a scale the unquestionable duty of giving bread to the hungry, as by initiating measures to rescue hundreds of thousands of British subjects from probable starvation.

The frightful massacres of Meerut and Cawnpoor have not banished from our minds the recollection of that terrible "Black Hole," where 123 persons perished, some from suffocation, and others in the maddening agonies of thirst; and this not from any purpose of fiend-like cruelty, but simply because the young Nawab, Surajah Dowlah, did not know the size of the prison-chamber of the English garrison in which he had directed his prisoners to be secured; and none of his officers cared to disturb his sleep, to procure a change of orders. When he awoke the door was opened, and the few weak, worn survivors, on whose frames some hours of agony had done the work of years, tottered forth, or were dragged out from amid the already putrefying corpses of their companions.‡

Surajah Dowlah paid, with his throne and life, the forfeit of his apathetic ignorance; and his people were happily delivered from that crowning curse—despotic inca-

* *Public Works in India;* by Lieutenant-colonel Cotton, 1854; p. 8. † *Ibid.*, pp. 294, 295.

‡ *Indian Empire*, vol. i., p. 273.

pacity. His fate ought to have served as a warning of the effects of mere neglect. Has it done so; or has the evil been multiplied a thousand-fold under a Christian government? Can it, or can it not, be proved by public records, that, for every single Englishman who perished while the Indian nawab lay sleeping, many thousand natives have fallen victims to an apathy no less criminal, manifested by the representatives of the E. I. Company? This is the meaning, or at least a part of the meaning, of the "neglect of public works in India;" and the only excuse offered for it is the poverty of the government. It is asserted, that the drain consequent on perpetual wars, which directly enriched and often indirectly ennobled the individuals concerned, occasioned so wide a destruction of native property, created such an unceasing drain on the state revenues, and so increased and complicated the labours of the collectors, that the one-engrossing anxiety of the authorities, how to meet current expenses, unavoidably superseded every other consideration.

The peculiar system of the Company has likewise contributed to induce a selfish and short-sighted policy. The brief period of administration allotted to each governor-general, whatever its advantages, has had the great drawback of rarely sufficing for the initiation, organisation, and carrying through of any large measure of general benefit; and it is, of course, seldom that a new-comer, fresh from England, has the ability or the generosity to appreciate and cordially work out the plan of his predecessor. The consequence has been a lamentable want of any consistent policy for the development of the resources of India. Lord Dalhousie, it is true, exerted himself zealously and successfully in the furtherance of certain great undertakings, in connection with which his name may well be gratefully remembered. The Ganges canal, the Bengal railway, the electric telegraph, are works of undoubted utility; and the good service they have rendered to the supreme government in its hour of need, must be calculated in lives rather than in money. But a few great and costly achievements cannot excuse the general neglect manifested by the non-appropriation of a certain portion of the revenue of every district to meet its own peculiar and urgent requirements. From the absence of any adequate provision, the vast reservoirs, sometimes many miles square, constructed by native princes centuries ago, have been allowed, to a considerable extent, to go to decay, and are now sources of disease instead of fertility, being covered with rank weeds.*

The East India Company have added the tax levied by their Mohammedan or Hindoo predecessors for annual repairs, to their general assessments, but have suffered many of the tanks to go to ruin; while, according to a recent writer (1858), "in many cases they still exact the same money-revenue from the cultivators, amounting, at the present day, to fifty, sixty, and seventy per cent. of the gross produce of the soil, as if the tanks were kept in perfect repair, and the cultivators received the quantity of water required to grow a full crop of produce."†

Water, water! is the primary want of the Indian farmer; yet, according to Colonel Cotton, it is undoubted that, in the worst year that ever occurred, enough has been allowed to flow into the sea to have irrigated ten times as much grain as would have supplied the whole population.‡ The case is put in the clearest light in an extract from a private letter, hastily written, and not meant for publication, addressed by "one of the most distinguished men in India," to Mr. Dickinson, and published by him, under the idea that it was better calculated than any laboured statement, to carry conviction to an unprejudiced mind. The writer, after declaring that the perpetual involvements of the Company had originated in their having omitted not only to initiate improvements, but even to keep in repair the old works upon which the revenue depended; adds—"But this is not the strongest point of the case. *They did not take the least pains to prevent famine.* To say nothing of the death of a quarter of a million of people in Guntoor, the public works' committee, in their report, calculate that the loss in money by the Guntoor famine, was more than two millions sterling. If they could find money to supply these losses, they could have found a hundredth part of the sum to prevent them.

"Lord —— thinks it would be better not to blame the government; how can we possibly point out how improvement can be made without proving that there has been neglect before? * * * Lord —— won-

* Macleod Wylie's *Bengal a Field of Missions*, p. 241.

† *Lectures on British India;* by John Malcolm Ludlow; vol. ii., p. 317.

‡ Quoted in the Madras Petition of 1852.

ders at my vehemence about public works: is he really so humble a man as to think no better of himself, than to suppose he could stand unmoved in a district where 250,000 people had perished miserably of famine through the neglect of our government, and see it exposed every year to a similar occurrence? If his lordship had been living in the midst of the district at the time, like one of our civilians, and had had every morning to clear the neighbourhood of his house of hundreds of dead bodies of poor creatures who had struggled to get near the European, in hopes that there perhaps they might find food, he would have realised things beyond what he has seen in his ——shire park."*

What excuse, even of ignorance, can be offered for a government that turns a deaf ear to statements so appalling as these, made by their own servants? Such impenetrable apathy affords a confirmation of the often-repeated assertion, that nothing but the continual pressure of public opinion in England, will ensure anything being effected in India. Would that this power might be at once exerted! Even now, in the midst of battles, we ought to be doing something to avert the consequences of past neglect, or the scourge of war will be followed by the yet more fatal visitations of famine, and its twin-sister, pestilence.

We may not be able to do much, or anything, in some of the most disturbed districts; but in the great majority, where comparative quiet prevails, a vigorous effort ought at once to be made for the introduction of a better system; that is, one designed to benefit the mass of the people, instead of being exclusively framed to suit the convenience of the European officials. Had this been earlier attempted, we might have had fewer great works to talk about in parliament or at the India House (though that is hardly possible, considering that we are Anglo-Saxons of the nineteenth century): but certainly India would not now be so generally destitute of the means of cheap carriage; neither would it be necessary to urge "the clearing-out of this poisonous old tank; the repairing of that embankment; the metalling of this mud-track through the jungle; the piercing, by a cheap canal of irrigation, of that tongue of land, of a few miles, between two rivers;"†

* Dickinson's *India under a Bureaucracy*, pp. 87—90.

† Ludlow's *Lectures*, vol. ii., p. 320.

the preservation of bridges; and such-like cheap, homely, obscure labours, as are now urgently needed throughout the length and breadth of the peninsula.

Cheap transit by land and water is a point only secondary in importance to irrigation, as a means of preventing famine, by enabling one part of the country to help another in the event of the failure of local rains. Major-general Tremenheere, in his recent evidence before parliament (May, 1858), when adverting to the brief intervals which have elapsed between the years of scarcity in the present century, forcibly states the necessity for affording the greatest facilities for the transport of produce, as the true remedy for these oft-recurring famines.‡ The evidence of subsequent witnesses before the same committee, shows that, in a country where easy transit is essential to the preservation of life during periodical visitations of dearth, there exists the most remarkable deficiency of means of intercommunication ever heard of under a civilised government.

"There are no roads to connect even Calcutta with any of the great cities of the interior. No road to Moorshedabad; no road to Dacca; none to Patna; no such roads as parish roads in England, to connect villages and market-towns in the interior. Consequently, in the rainy season, every town is isolated from its neighbours, and from all the rest of the country. Besides roads, bridges are wanted: there are hardly any bridges at all in the country; their place is partially supplied by ferries. The grand trunk-road, within the Lower Provinces, is only partially bridged; and half the bridges, I believe, have been washed away from defects of construction."§

In Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, the maintenance of good roads is a duty to which the government are alleged to be specially pledged; for, in making the decennial settlement (on which the permanent one was subsequently grounded), a separate tax for the purpose was inserted in the rent-roll, but was afterwards merged in the general assessment, and not applied to the roads. The native land-owners have remembered this breach of faith; and when urged, some years ago, to make fresh provision for the maintenance of highways, they objected, on the ground of the misappropriation of their actual yearly payments. Happily for them, their interests are closely allied with those of the British settlers. Both classes are equally without the pale of privilege and patronage, dignities and immunities,

‡ First Report of the Select Committee on the Colonization and Settlement of India, p. 6.

§ *Ibid.* Evidence of W. Theobald, Esq., p. 74.

with which the East India Company has fenced round its covenanted service; but the storm which has disturbed the immigrant planters in their peaceable avocations, has contributed to procure for them the opportunity of laying before a parliamentary committee, and consequently before the nation at large, the obstructions which impede all attempts to earn an honourable livelihood by developing the resources of India.

Several witnesses declare the want of internal communication to be peculiar to the administration of the East India Company, who have attempted nothing except for military or governmental purposes, and even then very imperfectly; while, under Hindoo and Mohammedan dynasties, the peninsula was intersected with roads, the remains of which are still traceable.* The planters, to some extent, make roads in their immediate vicinity, suitable to their own necessitics; but these do not answer for purposes of general traffic, which requires continuous lines. The native land-owners understand road-making, but want the means, not the will, to carry it on extensively. Mr. Dalrymple, an indigo and sugar planter, and silk manufacturer, resident in India upwards of thirty years, adduces, as an instance of the feeling of the natives on this subject, that he has known one of them make a road for a hundred miles from a religious motive.†

For the neglect of many duties, and especially of this one, we are paying a severe penalty; and the hardships so long suffered by the natives, in having to carry their articles of produce or merchandise on their heads, along paths impassable for beasts of burden, now fall with tenfold weight on our heavily-laden soldiery. Individual suffering, great as that has been (including the long list of victims to "solar apoplexy," on marches which, by even good common roads or by canals, would have been short and comparatively innocuous), forms but the inevitable counterpart of the public distress, occasioned by the present insurmountable impediments to the rapid concentration of military force on a given point. Facilities for the movement of troops are important in every seat of war; but particularly so in India, where the extent of country to be maintained exceeds beyond all proportion the number of European troops which can at any sacrifice be spared to garrison it.

The upholders of "a purely military despotism" have not been wise even in their generation, or they would have promoted, instead of opposing, the construction of railways between the chief cities, as a measure of absolute necessity. If only the few already projected had been completed, Delhi could hardly have fallen as it did—a rich, defenceless prize—into the hands of the mutineers, nor afforded them the means of establishing a rallying-point for the disaffected, and doing incalculable damage to European *prestige*, by setting an example of temporarily successful defiance. As it was, the contrast was most painful between the lightning-flash that brought the cry for help from stations surrounded by a seething mass of revolt, and the slow, tedious process by which alone the means of rescue could be afforded. Thus, the appeal of Sir Henry Lawrence for reinforcements for Cawnpoor, received the gloomy response, that it was "impossible to place a wing of Europeans there in less time than twenty-five days." The bullock-train could take a hundred men a-day, at the rate of thirty miles a-day :‡ this was all that could be done; and, with every effort, at an enormous cost of life and treasure, the troops arrived only to be maddened by the horrible evidences of the massacre they were too late to avert.

"Indophilus" views the railroad system as the basis of our military power in India; and considers it "so certain that railways are better than regiments, that it would be for the interest of England, even in a strictly economical point of view, to diminish the drain upon her working population, by lending her credit to raise money for the completion of Indian railways."§ The urgency of the requirement has become so evident as a measure of expediency, for the maintenance of our sovereignty, that it scarcely needs advocating: on the contrary, it seems necessary to deprecate the too exclusive appropriation of Indian revenue to railroads (especially costly ones, in which speed is apt to be made a primary requisite),‖ to the neglect of the far cheaper means of transit which might be opened by single

* Second Report—Evidence of Mr. J. T. Mackenzie, p. 88.

† Second Report, p. 67.

‡ Telegram of the governor-general to Sir Henry Lawrence, May 24th, 1857.—Parl. Papers on the Mutiny; Appendix, p. 315.

§ *Letters of Indophilus*, p. 12.

‖ See Colonel Cotton's *Public Works*, p. 184.

rail, by tram-roads, by the formation of canals for steam navigation, and by the opening and improving of rivers. Measures of this kind must be taken, if we would enable the people to bear the expenses attendant on our system of government.* Labour thus wisely employed and directed, would produce capital; the now insuperable difficulty of raising a sufficient revenue without oppressing the masses, would be removed; and their rulers, relieved from pecuniary pressure, might dare to be just by renouncing opium smuggling, and to be humane by abandoning the less criminal but still obnoxious salt† monopoly, which, as at present conducted, acts as an irregular poll-tax—falling heaviest on those who have farthest to fetch it from the government depôts.

The *Repression of British Enterprise* is closely connected with the neglect of public works; for had European planters been allowed to settle in any considerable numbers, and to give free expression to their opinions, they would certainly have agitated the subject in a manner which no government could have wholly withstood.

The Company, from their earliest days, strove with unremitting care to guard their chartered privileges against the encroachments of their countrymen, and adopted a tone of lofty superiority which was scarcely consistent with their own position as "merchant adventurers." Had there not been in America, the West Indies, and other colonies and dependencies of the British crown, abundant outlet for capital and enterprise, the Indian monopoly would probably have been soon broken through: as it was, the "interlopers" were comparatively few, and easily put down, if they proved in the least refractory, by the strong measure of deportation. Gradually the exclusive system was greatly modified by the effects of the parliamentary discussions which accompanied each renewal of the Company's charter, together with the disclosures of mismanagement involved in the perpetually recurring pecuniary embarrassments, from which they sought relief in the creation and augmentation of an Indian national debt. In 1813 their trade with India ceased entirely: it had long been carried on at an actual loss; the traffic with China, and the Indian territorial revenues, supplying the *deficit*. Yet, notwithstanding the opening up of the Indian trade to all British subjects (followed by a similar procedure with that of China in 1833), the Company were slow in abating their jealous hostility towards "adventurers," and did their utmost to prevent European enterprise from gaining a footing in India. They do not seem to have recognised the change of policy incumbent on them when, ceasing to be traders, they became sovereigns of a vast empire, and were thereby bound to renounce class interests and prejudices, and merge all meaner considerations in the paramount obligation of promoting the general good.

Of course, colonization, in the ordinary sense of the term, is neither practicable nor desirable in a country already well and generally densely peopled, and where land is the most dearly prized of all possessions. Even in certain favoured localities, where out-door employment can be best undertaken by Europeans, there is no product which they could cultivate on the spot, in which they would not be undersold by the natives. Indeed, it would be manifestly absurd to attempt to compete, as labourers, with men who can support themselves on wages ranging from 1½*d.* to 4½*d.* a-day.‡ It is as the pio-

* The salaries of Englishmen in India are all on a very high scale. The average annual salary received by civilians is estimated at £1,750.—(See article on "British India"—*Quarterly Review*, August, 1858; p. 237.) A Queen's officer, directly he embarks for India, has double pay. The fees of the lawyers and solicitors at Calcutta, are more than double what they are in English courts. No tradesman in Calcutta would be satisfied with the English rate of profit; and, in fact, all European labour is much more highly remunerated in India than elsewhere.—(First Report of Colonization Committee. Evidence of Major-general Tremenheere; p. 36) It was found necessary to raise the scale of salaries of English functionaries, as a means of preserving them from corruption; and, to a great extent, the measure has succeeded. Even-handed justice requires, that the same experiment should be tried with the natives of the country from which the funds are levied, and it will then be seen whether improved efficiency and integrity may not equally be the result. "A native judge, who has any prospect of promotion, hardly ever is known to be corrupt."—Raikes.

† The difference in the price of salt, between Calcutta and Benares, amounts to 100 per cent. Rice, which sells at a seaport at 2*s.* a bushel, is quoted at an average of 5*s.* 1*d.* per bushel in the Punjab, the Trans-Indus, and the Cis-Sutlej territories; the distance of these states from a seaport being from 800 to 1,200 miles.—Third Report of Colonization Committee, dated July 12th, 1858. Evidence of W. Balston, Esq.; p. 65.

‡ Evidence of R. Baikie, Esq.—First Report of Colonization Committee, 6th May, 1858; p. 52.

neers of skill and capital that Europeans must look to find remuneration and useful employment in India. In that sense the field is wide enough, and the need great indeed; for the native products and manufactures have, in many instances, actually diminished in extent and in value under the sway of the East India Company. Every child knows that calico takes its name from Calicut, whence it was first brought to England; yet domestic manufacture has been overwhelmed by the cheap, coarse fabrics of the Manchester steam-power looms; nor has the encouragement been given which might have opened for them a lucrative market in luxurious England for their own more delicate and durable productions. The Dacca muslin—the famous "woven wind," which, when wet, lay on the grass like the night-dew—this, also, has become almost a thing of the past. Yet, if only a market were assured, the cotton could be grown as before, and the same exquisite manipulation would be as cheaply obtainable.

Much important information regarding the present state of affairs, has been laid before the select committee lately appointed to inquire into questions affecting the settlement of India. Well-informed persons declare, that labour is cheap and abundant almost everywhere throughout India;* that the natives are very tractable; and yet, despite their readiness to learn, and long intercourse with Europeans, the knowledge of agriculture is in about the same position as at the time of Alexander's invasion.† This is in itself a discreditable fact, considering the effects produced by the application of science to agriculture in Europe: and the apathy manifested in India is especially blamable and impolitic, on the part of a government which has virtually usurped the position of landlord over a large portion of the country, more than one-half of the revenues of which, that is to say, £15,500,000 out of £28,000,000, is derived by rents from the land; while four-fifths of the annual exports, namely, £17,500,000 out of £21,500,000, are the direct produce of the soil.‡

While the system pursued has not improved under the rule of the Company, the cultivators themselves have absolutely deteriorated; the better class of farmers are alleged to have become generally impoverished, and to live in less comfort than they used to do under the Hindoo and Mohammedan dynasties; while very many of the ryots are hopelessly in debt.§ Impaired fertility is the natural consequence of overcropping, and the native tenant has no means of counteracting this; his poverty being so great, that he cannot afford to keep up a farming establishment of sufficient strength, especially as regards cattle, to admit of the due production of manure, or of those requirements which are considered indispensable, in England, to the cultivation of the commonest arable land.‖ The native agriculturist, if he borrow from a native banker and capitalist, pays, it is alleged, from fifty to seventy-five per cent. interest.¶ Usury thrives by sucking the life-blood, already scanty, of tillage and manufacture, and rivets the fetters of that system of advances which is truly described as the curse of India.**

The existence of the prevailing wretchedness above indicated, goes far to prove that the Company, in opposing the settlement of their fellow-countrymen, have not been actuated by a disinterested solicitude for the welfare of the natives. In fact, the fear of an influx of Europeans was almost a monomania with the Court of Directors; and every measure which could in any manner, however indirectly, facilitate the anticipated irruption, met with opposition avowedly on that account. Thus, the chairman and deputy-chairman of the Company, when advocating the enforcement of rigid restrictions on the press in 1823, adverted especially to the possibility of its "affording amusement or occupation to a class of adventurers proceeding clandestinely to India, to encourage whom would be a departure from the policy hitherto observed."††

Lord William Bentinck granted to Englishmen the privilege of holding lands in the interior of India, contrary to the in-

* Second Report of Select Committee on Colonization and Settlement of India, 10th June, 1858.—Evidence of Mr. J. P. Wise; p. 40.

† First Report, 6th May, 1858.—Evidence of Major-general Tremenheere; p. 29.

‡ Second Report.—Evidence of Major-general Tremenheere; pp. 28, 29.

§ *Ibid.*—Evidence of Mr. J. T. Mackenzie; p. 83.

‖ Evidence of Captain J. Ouchterlony.—Third Report, 12th July, 1858; p. 4. Another witness says, the charge for money advances is from fifty to a hundred per cent.; "but when the lenders advance in grain, they generally charge from one to two hundred per cent., because they have to be repaid in kind."—Mr. Mackenzie. Second Report, p. 83.

¶ Evidence of Mr. J. P. Wise.—*Ibid.*, p. 41.

** Evidence of Mr. Fowler.—Third Report, p. 54.

†† Parl. Papers, 4th May, 1858; p. 19.

structions of the Company; and his reasons for so doing are recorded in the minutes in council, of the years 1829 and 1830. At this period the question of settlement in India excited a good deal of interest in England; and a clause was inserted in the East India Charter Act of 1833, giving permission to all British subjects by birth, to purchase land and reside in India; and an enactment, in conformity with this clause, was passed by the local legislature in 1837.

Sir Charles Metcalfe was one of the leading advocates for a change of policy, as indispensable to the continuance of the Anglo-Indian empire; but he held that this change could never be effected until the government of the Crown should be formally substituted for that of the Company. The opinion is remarkable as coming from one of the most distinguished servants of the latter body—one who, trained in the close preserve of the covenanted civil service, rose, under the fostering care of Lord Wellesley, from occupying a clerk's desk, through intermediate grades of office, to the highest place in the council-chamber, and exercised, in a most independent fashion, the supreme authority provisionally entrusted to his care in 1835. His views would lose much of their force if conveyed in terms less full and unequivocal than his own; but, in reading the following extracts, it is necessary to remember that the word colonization has here a very limited application, and that the immigration required is not general; but must, to be beneficial to either of the parties concerned—the natives or the immigrants—consist of the capitalist class; in fact, of precisely those who find in overstocked Europe no field for the development of their resources, and who are deterred from the colonies by the high rate of wages, which constitute their chief attraction to the labouring masses.

"It is impracticable, perhaps [he writes as early as 1814], to suggest a remedy for the general disaffection of our Indian subjects. Colonization seems to be the only system which could give us a chance of having any part of the population attached to our government from a sense of common interests. Colonization may have its attendant evils; but with reference to the consideration above-stated, it would promise to give us a hold in the country which we do not at present possess. We might now be swept away in a single whirlwind. We are without root. The best-affected natives could think of a change of government with indifference; and in the N.W. Provinces there is hardly a man who would not hope for benefit from a change. This disaffection, however, will most probably not break out in any general manner as long as we possess a predominant power." In 1820, he declares—"As to a general reform of our rule, that question has always appeared to me as hopeless. Our rulers at home, and councillors abroad, are so bigoted as to precedent, that I never dream of any change unless it be a gradual declension from worse to worse. Colonization, without being forced or injudiciously encouraged, should be admitted without restraint. * * * I would never agree to the present laws of exclusion with respect to Europeans, which are unnatural and horrible." In 1836, he says—"The Europeans settled in India, and not in the Company's service, and to these might be added, generally, the East Indians of mixed breed, will never be satisfied with the Company's government: well or ill-founded, they will always attach to it the notion of monopoly and exclusion; they will consider themselves comparatively discountenanced and unfavoured, and will always look with a desire to the substitution of a King's government. For the contentment of this class, which for the benefit of India and the security of our Indian empire ought greatly to increase in numbers and importance, the introduction of a King's government is undoubtedly desirable.* * * It must be doubted whether even the civil service will be able to retain its exclusive privileges after the extensive establishment of European settlers. * * * The necessity of employing unfit men in highly important offices, is peculiar to this service, and demands correction."*

The evidence laid before parliament, after an interval of twenty-five years, forms a singular counterpart to the above statements. The persons examined speak from long and intimate experience; and their testimony, though varying in detail, coincides for the most part in its general bearing. They denounce the obstructive policy pursued towards them; and the majority distinctly declare, that permission to settle has not been availed of, because the protection of life and property, common to every other part of the British empire, is not afforded in India to any but the actual servants of government; the interests of all other subjects, European and native, being habitually disregarded. One witness alleges, that, "at this present time" (May, 1858), there are fewer Englishmen settled in the interior of India than there were twenty years ago, government servants excepted.†

* *Metcalfe Papers*, pp. 144; 150; 164; 171. It is, however, only fair to remind the reader, that Lord Metcalfe is declared by his biographer, Mr. Kaye, to have subsequently greatly modified his opinions. Seeing that government by the Crown would be, in fact, government by a parliamentary majority; he said, if that were applied to India, our tenure would not be worth ten years' purchase.—*Papers*, p. 165.

† Mr. G. Macnair.—Second Report, p. 2.

Another gentleman gives a clear exposition of similar convictions; stating, that—

"The real serious impediment to the settlement of Englishmen in India, is to be found in the policy of the system under which our Indian possessions have been hitherto, and, unfortunately, up to the present day, are still governed;—that policy which, giving certain extensive and exclusive privileges to a corporation established for trading purposes, and gradually formed into a governing power, originally shut out the spirit of enterprise, by excluding from the country Englishmen not servants of the Company. Although the extreme severity of this original policy has been somewhat modified and gradually relaxed, its spirit has remained but little changed; and its effects have been to keep the people of this country very ignorant of the resources and great value of India, and of the character, condition, and wants of the natives. Moreover, it is a matter of notoriety, that there has been, and is at the present time, a constant antagonism between the official and non-official Anglo-Indian communities; and that exactly as the adventuresome Englishman, who is called an interloper, with difficulty obtained his admission in the country, so even now he maintains his position in a continuous but unequal struggle with the local government, which he, in turn, regards as an obstacle between himself and the Crown and constitution to which he owns allegiance, and looks for protection in his own country. Then again, the departments of administration, police, the judicial system, both civil and criminal, are notoriously so wretchedly inefficient, oppressive, and corrupt, that they deter the peaceful and industrious from living within their influence, or risking their lives and property under their operations. I believe that even the comparatively few gentlemen settled in the interior of the country, would willingly withdraw, if they could do so without a ruinous sacrifice of property; for little or no heed has been given to their complaints, nor indeed of the natives; while the evils which have been pointed out for many years past are greatly on the increase. The present constitution of the legislative council has made matters worse than they were before; and that body has certainly not the confidence either of Europeans or natives. With the exception of two judges taken from the Supreme Court of Calcutta, it is composed of salaried and government officials, who have been such from the age of twenty, who have really nothing at stake in the country, and who are not likely to live under the operation and influence of the laws which they pass; while those who are directly interested in the well-being of the country, both Europeans and natives, are entirely excluded from any voice in the laws by which they are to be ruled and governed. * * * At present, you have in India a series of antagonisms which works most injuriously for all classes, and completely prevents that union amongst the governing people which appears to me to be essential to the well-being, not only of ourselves, but of the millions of people our subjects, taken under our care and protection avowedly for their own good, and enlightenment, and advancement in civilisation. At present there is an antagonism in the army, by the distinction of two services; and a worse antagonism between the Queen's courts and the Company's courts; between the laws administered in the presidency towns and in the interior; between the covenanted service, who have a monopoly of the well-paid appointments, and the upper, or educated portion of the uncovenanted service, who think themselves most unjustly excluded from advancement: and, finally, between almost every Englishman (I speak of these as facts, not as matters of opinion) not in the service of the Company, and the local government and covenanted service, who not only represent but carry out the policy of the East India Company, so as to shut out the direct authority of the Crown, the intervention of parliament, and the salutary and most necessary influence of public opinion in England. You cannot disconnect the European and the native. If you legislate simply with the idea of what is suitable to the English, without referring to the native and redressing the grievances of the native, there will be that unhappy antagonism between them that will effectually bar Europeans from going out to India."*

The exorbitant rate of interest (from fifteen to eighteen per cent.) charged on advances of money made to an indigo-planter, silk producer, or any settler occupied in developing the resources of the country (though not to be compared with that exacted from the native borrower), is urged by "an English zemindar"† resident some twenty-five years in Bengal, as another proof of the insecurity of property in the mofussil, or country districts, compared with that situated within the Calcutta jurisdiction, where large sums can be readily raised at from six to seven per cent. interest.‡ He enumerates the grievances already set forth in preceding sections, and points to the successful cultivation extensively carried on by European settlers in Ceylon, as a consequence of the perfect security and encouragment to capitalists, afforded by the administration and regulations of that island.§

Another witness declares that, in some parts of India, the land-revenue system actually excludes European capitalists. He instances the Madras presidency, and some portions of that of Bombay, where the Ryotwarree settlement is in force, where the government is the immediate landlord, and is represented in its transactions with its wretched tenants by the revenue police, an ill-paid and rapacious army of some 60,000 men, whose character was pretty well exposed in the Madras Torture Report. The settlement makes no provision for the

* Evidence of Mr. J. G. Waller.—Second Report, pp. 169, 170.

† Evidence of Mr. John Freeman.—First Report, pp. 112; 119; 139.

‡ The fixed legal maximum of interest in Bengal is twelve per cent.; other commissions bring it up to eighteen per cent.—Evidence of Mr. J. P. Wise. Second Report, p. 54.

§ *Ibid.*, p. 113.

introduction of an intermediate class of landlords; and the pauperised labourers emigrate in tens of thousands, to the Mauritius and elsewhere, leaving their own waste lands, to obtain subsistence in better governed countries.

In Bengal, both European and native capital and skill find employment under the permanent settlement, the value of which the natives generally perfectly understand, and call the "Great Charter of Bengal." The same witness adds—"It is invaluable to them and to us too; for it has saved Bengal from insurrection."*

This one great advantage possessed by Bengal, cannot, however, compensate for its other drawbacks; among which, the British settlers especially dwell on the lamentable deficiency of commercial roads, and the contrast thereby offered to the beautiful pleasure-drives for civilians and their ladies, which surround the chief stations. A settler engaged in growing rice, sugar, tobacco, and vegetables, for the Calcutta market, on an estate situated only forty miles from the great English metropolis, describes the difficulty of transit as so great, that the men who come to take the sugar away are obliged to do so upon bullocks' backs, each animal carrying about two maunds (about 1½ cwt. English), and treading warily along the lines separating one rice-field from another, which are generally about a foot in breadth, somewhat elevated above the field, acting also as ledges to keep the water in the fields: but, adds this witness, "some distance from there, where there is a little bit of road, they will take twenty or twenty-five maunds of produce with a cart and a couple of bullocks."†

Despite all discouragements, the British settlers claim to have done good service to their country and to India; and they affirm, "that wherever Europeans have been settled during the late convulsion, those parts have been less disturbed."‡ Their enterprise has been imitated by the native merchants; and many in Calcutta have, during the last twenty years, become large shippers of produce, and send orders for manufactured goods direct to England.§

Articles of great importance have been principally discovered and worked by the "interlopers." The coal-beds found by them after years of research, now give beneficial employment to several associations, including the Bengal Company, which alone pays about £2,000 per month to the railway, for the transit of coal from Raneegunge to Calcutta. The supply furnished by them has proved invaluable to the government during the mutiny; and the fleets of inland steamers belonging to the General Steam Navigation and Ganges Companies, have rendered vital service in the conveyance of the British troops, the naval brigade, and military ammunition and stores. Their efficiency would have been much greater had the authorities heeded the arguments previously addressed to them regarding the want of a canal to Rajmahal, or kept open one of the Nuddea rivers from Nuddea to the Ganges.‖

The British settlers were the first to establish direct steam communication between Calcutta and Suez: through their instrumentality the transit through Egypt was carried out, and the first steamer placed on the Nile: they introduced the river steam-tugs, used to facilitate the intricate and dangerous navigation between Calcutta and the pilot station; and they established the horse-carriages, by which Sir Colin Campbell and hundreds of officers and soldiers hastened to the seat of war. Silk, and other valuable and easily-transportable products, such as indigo, the hateful drug opium, together with jute, hemp, tobacco and linseed, have considerably increased in quantity, and improved in quality, under the influence of British capital and energy. The settlers succeeded in growing good tea before it was discovered to be indigenous in so many places

* Evidence of Mr. Theobald.—First Report, pp. 61, 62; 85.

† Evidence of Mr. J. Freeman.—First Report, p. 119. (See further testimony to the same effect—First Report, pp. 114; 157. Second Report, pp. 31; 40; 52; 108. Third Report, pp. 64, 65.)

‡ Evidence of Mr. J. P. Wise.—Second Report, p. 36.

§ Evidence of Mr. Freeman.—First Report, p. 114.

‖ The "Nuddea Rivers" is the name given to the network of channels which traverse the country between the Ganges and the Hooghly. These channels are supplied partly from the Ganges and partly from the drainage of the country, and are sometimes all but dry. The general opinion is, that one of them might be kept open for the country-boats and for steamers all the year round, instead of five months, if proper engineering skill were applied to the task; by which means a circuitous and even dangerous route of five hundred miles would be avoided.—First Report. Evidence of Mr. W. Theobald, p. 75.

in the Himalayas; and were beginning the cultivation so successfully in Assam and Kumaon, that, in 1856, 700,000lbs. were exported to England. The Neilgherry coffee is alleged to have obtained an excellent name in the London market, as that of Tellicherry has done long ago. Beer has been brewed on the Neilgherries, and sold at 9*d.* per gallon, which the soldiers preferred to the ordinary description, retailed there at 1*s.* and 1*s.* 2*d.* per quart bottle.*

During the Russian war, there was an export of grains and oil seeds (forming, in 1856, a large item) from the interior of India to England; but it ended on the conclusion of peace, because war prices, or canal irrigation and carriage, were essential conditions of remuneration. The same thing occurred with wheat. At the commencement of the war there was a first export of twenty quarters, which rose to 90,963 quarters in 1856, and fell with declining prices to 30,429 quarters in 1857. Rice is exported largely under any circumstances, because it is produced in great abundance on the coast, and is not subject to the cost of inland carriage.† This, and much similar testimony, tends to corroborate the unqualified declaration previously made by Colonel Cotton, that "India can supply England fully, abundantly, cheaply with its two essentials, flour and cotton; and nothing whatever prevents its doing so but the want of public works."‡

The evidence of British settlers is very satisfactory regarding the possibility of cultivating cotton of good quality to an almost unlimited extent. One witness predicts, that the first three or four large canals (for irrigation as well as transit) made in India, would drive the American cotton entirely out of the market, from the much lower cost of production in India. American cotton costs 6*d.* per pound at the English ports: Indian, of equal quality, might, it is alleged, be delivered there from any part of India at a cost of 1½*d.* per pound.§

Even supposing this representation to be somewhat sanguine and highly-coloured, it is most desirable that a vigorous effort should be made to restore the ancient staple product of India, by making one grand experiment—whether slave labour may not be beaten out of the market by the cheapest and most abundant supply of free labour which could possibly be desired. In the cultivation and manufacture of cotton, all the requirements of England and of India (national and individual) are combined: capital, skill, and careful superintendence, would find remunerative exercise on the one side; and, on the other, large masses of people, now half-starved, would be employed; and men, women, and even children could work together in families—an arrangement always much desired in India.

Neither is there any reason why the manufacture of the finer fabrics—of gold-wrought and embroidered muslins—should not be resumed as an article of export. They are quite peculiar to India, and must remain so. The temperature of the country; the delicate touch of the small supple native fingers; the exquisite, artistic tact in managing the gorgeous colouring: all these points combine in producing effects which have been strangely undervalued in England. The barbaric pearl and gold, the diamonds of Golconda, the emeralds and pearls, have led us to overlook the incomparable delicacy of Indian manufactures.

Shawls are almost the only exceptional article amid general neglect. The French, always discriminating in such matters, have shown more appreciation of the value of native manipulation. Several factories, called "filatures," have been for many years established in their settlement at Pondicherry, and where, properly organised and superintended by practical men, the profit yielded is stated at no less than thirty per cent. per annum on the capital invested. A parliamentary witness says, if three times the amount could have been spun, it would have found ready purchasers.‖ It is, however, asserted, that the assessments are not half as high in Pondicherry as in the neighbouring British territory.

The point long doubtful, whether the English constitution could ever bear permanent residence and active occupation in India, appears to be solved by the concurrent testimony of the planters, whose evidence before a committee of the House of Commons, has been so largely quoted. Their stalwart frames and healthy appearance, after twenty, and even thirty years' experience, went far to confirm their statements, that

* Evidence of Captain Ouchterlony.—Third Report, p. 4.

† Third Report.—Evidence of Mr. W. Balston, pp. 64; 98.

‡ *Public Works*, p. 29.

§ Evidence of Mr. W. Balston.—Third Report, p. 98.

‖ Evidence of Captain Ouchterlony.—Third Report, pp. 13; 37.

out-door employment in the more temperate localities, was, even in India, favourable rather than detrimental to health. It is still an open question, how far their children or grandchildren may thrive there; and to what extent early transplantation to schools in the sanitaria afforded by the Neilgherries and other hilly tracts, may operate in preventing physical deterioration.

The chief attractions to "merchant adventurers" in India, are as prominent now as in the days when good Queen Bess granted the first charter to her subjects; the field for capital and enterprise is quite as wide, and even more promising. Merchants, money-lenders, and government stipendiaries, are the only wealthy natives at present in India; and many of these—some by fair and highly creditable means, others by intrigue and usury—have become possessed of fortunes which would enable them to take rank with a London millionaire.

India is, in truth, a mine of wealth; and if we are permitted to see the sword of war permanently sheathed, it may be hoped that we shall take a new view of things; especially, that the leaders of our large manufacturing towns—Birmingham and Manchester, Glasgow and Belfast—will take up the question of good government for India, and convince themselves, by diligently comparing and sifting the evidence poured forth from many different sources, of the necessity for developing the resources and elevating the condition of their fellow-subjects in Hindoostan. Poverty, sheer poverty, is the reason why the consumption of our manufactures is so small; and its concomitants—the fear of extortion, and personal insecurity, induce that tendency to hoarding, which is alleged to operate in causing the annual disappearance of a considerable portion of the already insufficient silver currency.

This, and other minor evils, are effects, not causes; they are like the ailments which inherent weakness produces: strengthen the general frame, and they will disappear. The temptation of profitable and secure investments, such as urgently-required public works may be always made to offer by a wise government, would speedily bring forth the hoarded wealth (if there be such) of India, and would assuredly attract both European and native capital, which, thus employed, might be as seed sown. The British settlers, and some public-spirited native merchants (such as the well-known Sir Jamsetjee Jeejeeboy, of Bombay, with others in each presidency), have shown what individual effort can accomplish. It is now for the government to follow their example, and prepare for a rich harvest of material and moral progress.

Annexation, and Infraction of the Indian Laws of Inheritance.—The system of subsidiary alliances, established by Lord Wellesley, in the teeth of many and varied difficulties, has, without doubt, been the means of quietly and effectively establishing the supremacy of England over the chief part of the Indian peninsula. It has likewise greatly conduced to the general tranquillity, by compelling the native governments to keep peace with one another. It might have done much more than this, had subsequent governors-general entered into the large and generous policy of its promoter, and viewed it as a protective measure calculated to prolong the existence of native states, and regulate the balance of power. Lord Wellesley had no passion for annexation; he did not even say with Clive, "to stop is dangerous, to recede is ruin:"* on the contrary, he believed that the time had arrived for building up a barrier against further extension; and for this very purpose he bent every energy of his mind to frame the system which has been perverted by his successors, and warped by circumstances, into a preliminary to absorption and extinction.

He desired to preserve the independence of the Rajpoot principalities; and thus, rather than by exterminating wars, to keep in check the then alarmingly turbulent and aggressive Mahratta powers. His plans were perfected, and fairly in operation when he quitted India. Unhappily, his whole policy was, for a little while, misrepresented and misunderstood. Its reversal was decreed, and unswerving "non-intervention" was to be substituted for protective and defensive alliances. In theory, this principle seemed just and practicable; in action, it involved positive breach of contract with the weaker states, with whom, in our hour of peril, we had formed treaties, and whom we were pledged to protect against their hereditary foes.

Mistaken notions of economy actuated the authorities in England; and, unfortunately, Sir George Barlow, on whom the

* *Metcalfe Papers*, p. 5.

charge of the supreme government devolved by the sudden death of Lord Cornwallis, was incapable of realising, much less of forcibly deprecating, the evil of the measures he was called upon to take. Lord Lake, the commander-in-chief, felt his honour so compromised by the public breach of faith involved in the repudiation of treaties which he had been mainly instrumental in obtaining, that he resigned, in disgust, the diplomatic powers entrusted to him.*

No less indignation was evinced by the band of rising statesmen, whose minds had been enlarged and strengthened by participation in the views of the "great little man," who, "from the fire of patriotism which blazed in his own breast, emitted sparks which animated the breasts of all who came within the reach of his notice."† One of these (Charles Metcalfe) drew up a paper on the policy of Sir George Barlow, of remarkable interest and ability. He says—

"The native powers of India understand the law of nations on a broad scale, though they may not adhere to it; but they are not acquainted with the nice quirks upon which our finished casuists would draw up a paper to establish political rights. Our name is high, but these acts must lower it; and a natural consequence is, that we shall not again be trusted with confidence.

"Sir George Barlow, in some of his despatches, distinctly states, that he contemplates, in the discord of the native powers, an additional source of strength; and, if I am not mistaken, some of his plans go directly, and are designed, to foment discord among those states. * * * Lord Wellesley's desire was to unite the tranquillity of all the powers of India with our own. How fair, how beautiful, how virtuous does this system seem; how tenfold fair, beautiful, and virtuous, when compared with the other ugly, nasty, abominable one."‡

All the members of the Wellesley school imbibed the same tone; and though they differed widely on many points, and subsequently became themselves distinctive leaders, yet Elphinstone and Malcolm, Adams and Jenkins, Tucker and Edmonstone, consistently maintained the rights of native states, and regarded any dispositiou to take advantage of their weakness or promote strife, as "ugly, nasty, and abominable."

When the non-intervention system proved absolutely impracticable, the authorities fell back on that of subsidiary alliances; but instead of proceeding on the broad basis laid down by Lord Wellesley, and organising such relations of mutual protection and subordination between the greater and the minor states, as might be necessary for the preservation of general tranquillity, a system of minute and harassing interference was introduced into the affairs of every petty state. "We established," writes Sir Charles Metcalfe in 1830, when a member of the supreme council, "a military police throughout Central India, with a view to maintain order in countries belonging to foreign potentates."§ The arrangements made were costly, clumsy, and inefficient; and, in the end, have worked badly for all parties.

The British contingents, which have now joined the rebel Bengal army, were, for the most part, forced on the native princes, and their general tendency has been to foster the inherent weakness, corruption, and extortion of the states in which they have been established. The benefit of exemption from external strife, has been dearly purchased by increased internal oppression; the arm of the despot being strengthened against his subjects by the same cause which paralysed it for foreign aggression. Then has arisen the difficult question—how far we, as the undoubted supreme power, were justified in upholding notoriously incapable and profligate dynasties, even while the cruel wrongs of the people were unceasingly reported by the British residents at the native courts? As is too frequently the case, the same question has been viewed from different points of view at different times, and, at each period, the decision arrived at has run the risk of being partial and prejudiced.

In the time of Warren Hastings, Sir John Shore, and Lord Wellesley, the increase of territory was deprecated by the East India Company and the British nation in general, as equally unjust in principle and mistaken in policy. The fact that many of the Hindoo, and nearly all the Mohammedan, rulers were usurpers of recent date, ruling over newly-founded states, was utterly ignored; and their treacherous and hostile proceedings against us, and each other, were treated as fictitious, or at least exaggerated. At length a powerful reaction took place; people grew accustomed to the rapid augmentation of our Anglo-Indian empire, and ceased to scrutinise the means by which it was accomplished. The rights of native princes, from being over-estimated, became as unduly disregarded.

* See *Indian Empire*, vol. i., p. 406.
† *Metcalfe Papers*, p. 10.
‡ *Ibid.*, pp. 6, 7.
§ *Ibid.*, p. 178.

The system of annexation recently pursued, which has set at nought the ancient Hindoo law regarding the succession of adopted sons and female representatives, is alleged to have been a special cause of the revolt.* From time immemorial, the adoption of heirs in default of natural and legitimate issue, has been the common custom of the Hindoos. If a man have no son, it is an imperative article in his religious belief that he should adopt one; because it is only through the ceremonies and offerings of a son, that the soul of the father can be released from *Put*—which seems to be the Brahminical term for purgatory. The adopted child succeeds to every hereditary right, and is treated in every respect as if lawfully begotten. Lord Metcalfe has expressed a very decided opinion on the subject. After pointing out the difference between sovereign princes and jagheerdars —between those in possession of hereditary sovereignties in their own right, and those who hold grants of land, or public revenue, by gift from a sovereign or paramount power—he adds, that Hindoo sovereign princes have a right to adopt a successor, to the exclusion of collateral heirs; and that the British government is bound to acknowledge the adoption, provided that it be regular, and not in violation of Hindoo law. "The supposed reversionary right of the paramount power," Lord Metcalfe describes "as having no real existence, except in the case of the absolute want of heirs; and even then the right is only assumed in virtue of power; for it would probably be more consistent with right, that the people of the state so situated should elect a sovereign for themselves."†

Many of our leading statesmen have concurred not only in deprecating the use of any measures of annexation which could possibly be construed as harsh or unjust, but also in viewing the end itself, namely, the absorption of native states, as a positive evil. Mountstuart Elphinstone, who has probably had more political intercourse with the highest class of natives than any other individual now living, has always continued to entertain the same views which he set forth as interpreter to Major-general Wellesley, in the memorable conferences held to negotiate the treaties of Surjee Anjengaum and Deogaum, in 1803, with Sindia and the rajah of Berar;‡ when he described the British government as uniformly anxious to promote the prosperity of its adherents, the interests of such persons being regarded as identified with its own.

Many years later, Mr. Elphinstone wrote—"It appears to me to be our interest as well as our duty, to use every means to preserve the allied governments: it is also our interest to keep up the number of independent powers: their territories afford a refuge to all whose habits of war, intrigue, or depredation, make them incapable of remaining quiet in ours; and the contrast of our government has a favourable effect on our subjects, who, while they feel the evils they are actually exposed to, are apt to forget the greater ones from which they have been delivered."

Colonel Wellesley, in 1800, declared, that the extension of our territory and influence had been greater than our means. "Wherever we spread ourselves," he said, "we increase this evil. We throw out of employment and means of subsistence, all who have hitherto managed the revenue, commanded, or served in the armies, or have plundered the country. These people become additional enemies, at the same time that, by the extension of our territory, our means of supporting our government and of defending ourselves are proportionately decreased."§

Marquis Wellesley, in 1842, wrote—"No further extension of our territory is ever desirable in India, even in the event of war for conquest, if that could be justified or were legal, as the law now wisely stands."‖

Lord Ellenborough (despite the annexation of Sinde) advised, that even "what are called rightful occasions of appropriating the territories of native states," should be avoided; because he considered, that the maintenance of those states, and "the conviction that they were considered permanent parts of the general government of India, would materially strengthen our authority. I feel satisfied, that I never stood so strong with my own army as when I was surrounded by native princes; they like to see respect shown to their native princes. These princes are sovereigns of one-third of the population of Hindoostan;

* *Vide Rebellion in India;* by John Bruce Norton.

† *Metcalfe Papers* (written in 1837); p. 318.

‡ *Supplementary Despatches of F. M. the Duke of Wellington;* edited by the present Duke: vol. iii.

§ *Wellington Despatches.* Letter to Major Munro, dated 20th August, 1800.

‖ Letter from the Marquis Wellesley to Lord Ellenborough, 4th July, 1842.

and with reference to the future condition of the country, it becomes more important to give them confidence that no systematic attempt will be made to take advantage of the failures of heirs to confiscate their property, or to injure, in any respect, those sovereigns in the position they at present occupy."

Sir John Malcolm went further still, and declared, that "the tranquillity, not to say the security, of our vast Oriental dominions, was involved in the preservation of the native principalities, which are dependent upon us for protection. These are also so obviously at our mercy, so entirely within our grasp, that besides the other and great benefits which we derive from these alliances, their co-existence with our rule is, of itself, a source of political strength, the value of which will never be known till it is lost. * * * I am further convinced, that though our revenue may increase, the permanence of our power will be hazarded in proportion as the territories of native princes and chiefs fall under our direct rule."

Henry St. George Tucker likewise lifted up his voice in warning, declaring, that the annexation of a principality to our gigantic empire, might become the source of weakness, by impairing our moral influence over our native subjects.*

These opinions so far prevailed, that down to the viceroyalty of Lord Dalhousie, the Hindoo custom of adoption was not only sanctioned, but urged by the supreme government on native princes in the absence of natural heirs. The majority of Indian dynasties have been maintained in this manner. The famous Mahratta leaders, Dowlut Rao Sindia of Gwalior, and Mulhar Rao Holcar of Indore, both died childless: the latter adopted a son; the former left the choice of a successor to his favourite wife, who exercised the right, and herself filled the position of regent.†

On the death of the adopted prince, in 1843, his nearest relative, a boy of eight years of age, was proclaimed maharajah. The war which took place in the same year, and which terminated in the capture of the fortress of Gwalior by the British troops, on the 4th of January, 1844, did not lead to the extinction of the principality, as it would unquestionably have done under the course of policy which subsequently prevailed. The young maharajah was confirmed in the position, for which, as he advanced in age, he showed himself well qualified; and his name, like that of his contemporary the rajah of Indore, now takes high rank amid the faithful allies of England.

Lord Ellenborough's opinions regarding the maintenance of native states, were not, however, shared by his zealous champion, Sir Charles Napier, who expressed himself on this point, as on most others, in very strong terms. "Were I emperor of India," he said, when his views were most matured, "no Indian prince should exist." He would dethrone the Nizam, he would seize Nepaul: in fact, he considered, that without the abolition of the native sovereignties no great good could be effected, and the Company's revenues must be always in difficulty.‡

Sir Charles was probably singular in his desire to extend the British frontier indefinitely, and "make Moscowa and Pekin shake;" but many persons, including Mr. Thoby Prinsep and other leading India House authorities, looked forward to the extinction of the subsidiary and protected states within our boundary as desirable, both in a political and financial point of view, especially in the latter.§

In India, the majority of the governing "caste," as Colonel Sykes called the civilians,‖ were naturally disposed to favour extensions of territory which directly conduced to the benefit of their body, and for the indirect consequences of which they were in no manner held responsible. To them, the lapse of a native state was the opening of a new source of promotion, as it was to the directors in England of "patronage"—an advantage vague in sound, but very palpable and lucrative in operation. No wonder that the death of the "sick man" should have been often anticipated by his impatient heirs as a happy release, which it was excusable and decidedly expedient to hasten. It was but to place the sufferer or victim within reach of the devouring waves of the Ganges,

* Several of the above opinions, with others of similar tendency, will be found collected in a pamphlet entitled *The Native States of India*; published by Saunders and Stanford, 6, Charing-cross: 1853.

† *Indian Empire*, vol. i., p. 427.

‡ See review in the *Times*, May 25th, 1857, of Sir W. Napier's *Life of Sir C. Napier*.

§ See Mr. Prinsep's pamphlet on the *Indian Question in* 1853.

‖ Third Report of Colonization Committee, 1858; p. 88.

and the result, according to Hindoo notions, is paradise to one party, and pecuniary advantage, or at least relief, to the other. The whirlpool of annexation has been hit upon as offering advantages of a similar kind; namely, complete regeneration to the native state subjected to its engulphing influence, and increased revenue to the paramount power. Bengal civilians began to study "annexation made easy," with the zeal of our American cousins, and it was soon deemed indispensable to hasten the process by refusing to sanction further adoptions. The opinions quoted in preceding pages were treated as out of date, and the policy founded on them was reversed. The experience of the past showed, that from the days of Clive, all calculations founded on increase of territorial revenue, had been vitiated by more than proportionate increase of expenditure. It might have also taught, that the decay of native states needed no stimulating, and that even if their eventual extinction should be deemed desirable, it would at least be well to take care that the inclined plane by which we were hastening their descent, should not be placed at so sharp an angle as to bring them down, like an avalanche, on our own heads. These considerations were lost sight of in the general desire felt "to extinguish the native states which consume so large a portion of the revenue of the country;"* and few paused to consider the peculiar rights of native administrators, as such, or remembered that, in many cases, the profit derived from the subsidy paid for military contingents, was greater than any we were likely to obtain from the entire revenue. In fact, the entire revenue had repeatedly proved insufficient to cover the cost of our enormous governmental establishments, civil and military.

The expenditure consequent on the war with, and annexation of, Sinde,† was the subject of much parliamentary discussion, the immense booty obtained by the army being contrasted with the burden imposed upon the public treasury and highly-taxed people of India. Still the lesson prominently set forth therein was unheeded, or treated as applicable only to projects of foreign aggrandisement, and having no relation to questions of domestic policy.

The Marquis of Dalhousie expressed the general sentiments of the Court of Directors, as well as his own, in the following full and clear exposition of the principles which prompted the series of annexations made under his administration:—"There may be a conflict of opinion as to the advantage, or to the propriety, of extending our already vast possessions beyond their present limits. No man can more sincerely deprecate than I do any extension of the frontiers of our territories, which can be avoided, or which may not become indispensably necessary from considerations of our own safety, and of the maintenance of the tranquillity of our provinces. But I cannot conceive it possible for any one to dispute the policy of taking advantage of every just opportunity which presents itself for consolidating the territories that already belong to us, by taking possession of states which may lapse in the midst of them; for thus getting rid of these petty intervening principalities, which may be made a means of annoyance, but which can never, I venture to think, be a source of strength; for adding to the resources of the public treasury, and for extending the uniform application of our system of government to those whose best interests, we believe, will be promoted thereby."

Lord Dalhousie differed from Lord Metcalfe and others above quoted, not less with regard to the nature of the end in view, than as to the means by which that end might be lawfully obtained; and he has recorded his "strong and deliberate opinion," that "the British government is bound not to put aside or to neglect such rightful opportunities of acquiring territory or revenue, as may from time to time present themselves, whether they arise from the lapse of subordinate states by the failure of all heirs of every description whatsoever, or from the failure of heirs natural, when the succession can be sustained only by the sanction of government being given to the ceremony of adoption, according to Hindoo law."

It is not surprising that the process

* *Modern India;* by Mr. Campbell, a civilian of the Bengal service.

† Mr. St. George Tucker asserted, that the proceedings connected with the annexation of Sinde were reprobated by every member of the Court of Directors of the East India Company, "as characterised by acts of the grossest injustice, highly injurious to the national reputation:" and that the acquisition of that country was "more iniquitous than any which has ever stained the annals of our Indian administration."—*Memorials of Indian Government*, pp. 351, 352.

of absorption should have been rapid, when the viceroy, who held the above opinions, was essentially a practical man, gifted with an "aptitude for business, unflagging powers of labour, and clearuess of intellect;" which even the most decided opponents of his policy have applauded. In reviewing the result of his eight years' admiuistration, Lord Dalhousie dwells, apparently without the slightest misgiving, on the large iucrease of the British territories iu the East during that period; four kingdoms, and various chiefships and separate tracts, having been brought under the sway of the Queen of England. Of these, *the Punjab* was the fruit of conquest.* *Pegu and Martaban* were likewise won by the sword iu 1852; and a population of 570,180 souls, spread over au area of 32,250 square miles, was thereby brought uuder the dominion of the British Crowu.†

The *Raj or Principality of Sattara,* was the first state annexed by Lord Dalhousie, to the exclusion of the claims of an adopted son. There was only one precedent—and that a partial one—for this measure: it occurred uuder the administration of Lord Auckland, in 1840, in the case of the little *state of Colaba,* founded by the pirate Angria, whose chief fort, Gheria, was taken by Watson and Clive in 1756.‡ Colaba was dependent on the government of the Peishwa at Poona; and, on the extinction of his power, the British entered iuto a treaty with Ragojee Angria, the existing chief, guaranteeing the transmission of his territories in their integrity to his "successors." With the sanction of the Bombay government, Ragojee adopted a boy, who died soon after him. Permission was asked for a fresh adoption, but refused; and the territory was treated as having escheated for want of heirs male, although, it is alleged, there were many members of the Angria family still in existence, legally capable of succeediug to the government.

Sattara was altogether a more important case, both on account of the extent and excellent government of the kingdom, and because its extinction involved a distinct repudiation of the practice of adoption previously sanctioned by the British authorities, and held by the Hindoos as invariably conferring on the adopted child every privilege of natural and legitimate issue.§ The fact was so generally recognised, that there seems no reason to doubt that the native princes, iu signing subsidiary or other treaties, considered that children by adoption were included, as a matter of course, uuder the head of legitimate heirs and successors. The exception, if intended, was sufficiently important to demand mention. But the conduct of the government, in repeated instances (such as those of the Gwalior and Indore principalities, of Kotah in 1828, Dutteah in 1840, Oorcha, Banswarra, aud Oodipoor, in 1842, and, several years later, in Kerowlee),‖ was calculated to remove all doubt by evidencing its liberal construction of the Hindoo law of succession.

Lord Auckland declared, in the case of Oorcha, that he could not for a moment admit the doctrine, that because the view of policy upon which we might have formed engagements with the native princes might have beeu by circumstances materially altered, we were therefore not to act scrupulously up to the terms and spirit of those eugagements; and again, when discussing the question of the right of the widow of the rajah of Kishenghur to adopt a son without authority from her deceased husband, his lordship rejected any refereuce to the "supposed rights" which were suggested as devolving on the British government as the paramouut power, declaring that such questions must be decided exclusively with reference to the terms and spirit of the treaties or engagements formed with the differeut states; and that no demand ought to be brought forward than such as, in regard to those engagements, should be scrupulously consistent with good faith.

By this declaration Lord Auckland publicly evinced his resolve to adhere to the priuciple laid down by high authority forty years before, under very critical circumstances. It was not an obedient dependeucy, but the fortified border-land of a warlike principality, that was at stake, when Arthur Wellesley urged the governor-general to abide by the strict rules of justice, however inconvenient and seemingly inexpedieut. Ou other points of the question the brothers might take different views; on this they were sure to agree; for they

* Norton's *Rebellion in India*, p. 65.
† *Indian Empire*, vol. i., p. 456.
‡ *Ibid.*, p. 458. Parl. Papers, 16th April, 1858.
§ See *Indian Empire*, vol. i., p. 271.

‖ The social grounds on which the practice of adoption is based, are well set forth by General Briggs. See Ludlow's *Lectures*, vol. ii., p. 226; and *Native States*, pp. 21; 23.

were equally ready to "sacrifice Gwalior or every other frontier in India ten times over, in order to preserve our credit for scrupulous good faith."*

The recent mode of dealing with Sattara has not contributed to raise the British name either for generosity or unflinching integrity. The deposition of that most able ruler, Pertab Sing, on a charge of conspiracy against the supreme government,† was earnestly deprecated in England by many eminent men, and excited great indignation among his subjects. The secret and hurried manner in which his seizure and trial were conducted, increased the apparent hardship of his sentence; and an able writer asserts his conviction that, at the present time, not a native in India, nor five persons in the world, believe in his guilt.‡ He died in 1847, leaving an adopted son, around whom the affections of the people still cling.§ The remembrance of his misfortunes has not passed away; and one of the mutineers, hung at Sattara in 1857, addressed the surrounding natives while he was being pinioned, to the effect that, as the English had hurled the rajah from his throne, so they ought to be driven out of the country.‖ The deposition of Pertab Sing was not, however, accompanied by any attempt at annexation of territory; the government, on the contrary, "having no views of advantage and aggrandisement," resolved, in the words of the new treaty (5th September, 1839), to invest the brother and next in succession to the rajah with the sovereignty. This brother (Appa Sahib) died in 1848. He, also, in default of natural issue, had adopted a son, whose recognition as rajah was strongly urged by Sir George Clerk, the governor of Bombay, on the ground that the terms of the treaty, "seemed to mean a sovereignty which should not lapse for want of heirs, so long as there was any one who could succeed, according to the usages of the people." "In a matter such as this question of resumption of territory, recovered by us, and restored to an ancient dynasty,"¶ he observes, "we are morally bound to give some consideration to the sense in which we induced or permitted the other party to understand the terms of a mutual agreement. Whatever we intend in favour of an ally in perpetuity, when executing a treaty with him on that basis, by that we ought to abide in our relations with his successors, until he proves himself unworthy."

Sir G. Clerk further advocated the continuance of the independence of Sattara, on account of its happy and prosperous state. Mr. Frere, the British resident, said that no claimant would venture to put forward his own claim against the adopted sons of either of the late rajahs; but that there were many who might have asserted their claim but for the adoption, and who would "be able to establish a very good *primâ facie* claim in any court of justice in India." These arguments did not deter Lord Dalhousie from making Sattara the first example of his consolidation policy. "The territories," he said, "lie in the very heart of our own possessions. They are interposed between the two military stations in the presidency of Bombay, and are at least calculated, in the hands of an independent sovereign, to form an obstacle to safe communication and combined military movement. The district is fertile, and the revenues productive. The population, accustomed for some time to regular and peaceful government, are tranquil themselves, and are prepared for the regular government our possession of the territory would give." With regard to the terms of the treaty, he held that the words "heirs and successors" must be read in their ordinary sense, and could not be construed to secure to the rajahs of Sattara any other than the succession of heirs natural: and the prosperity of the state, he did not consider a reason for its continued independence, unless this prosperity could be shown to arise from fixed institutions, by which the disposition of the sovereign would always be guarded, or compelled into an observance of the rules of good government. (This, of course, could not be shown, such security being peculiar to countries blessed with free institutions, and utterly incompatible with any form of despotism.) In conclusion, the governor-general argued, that "we ought to regard the territory of Sattara as lapse, and should incorporate it at once with the British dominions in India."**

The Court of Directors were divided in opinion on the subject: nine of them agreed

* *Wellington Despatches*, 17th March, 1804.
† See *Indian Empire*, vol. i., p. 432.
‡ Ludlow's *Lectures*, vol. ii., p. 171.
§ *Ibid.*, p. 171.
‖ *Bombay Telegraph*, 19th June, 1857.
¶ *Indian Empire*, vol. i., p. 419.
** Minute by Lord Dalhousie, 30th August, 1848.

with, and five differed from, Lord Dalhousie.* The dissentients were Messrs. Tucker, Shepherd, Melville, Major Oliphant, and General Caulfield. Regarding the precedent established in the case of Colaba, Mr. Tucker said—

"I remonstrated against the annexation (I am disposed to call it the confiscation) of Colaba, the ancient seat of the Angria family, to which the allusion has been made in the Bombay minutes; and far from having seen reason to modify or recall the opinion recorded by me on that proceeding, I have availed myself of every suitable occasion to enforce my conviction, that a more mischievous policy could not be pursued than that which would engross the whole territory of India, and annihilate the small remnant of the native aristocracy. There are persons who fancy that landed possessions in India cannot be successfully administered by native agency. In disproof of this notion I would point to the Rampoor jaghire in Rohilcund, which was a perfect garden when I saw it long ago, and which still remains, I believe, in a state of the highest agricultural prosperity. Nay, I would point to the principality of Sattara, which appears to have been most successfully administered both by the ex-rajah, Pertab Sing, and his brother and successor, Appa Sahib, who have done more for the improvement of the country than our government can pretend to have done in any part of its territory."†

This, and other energetic protests, are said to have produced so strong an impression, that a vote seemed likely to pass in the Court of Proprietors, repudiating the annexation of Sattara. The majority of the directors perceiving this, called for a ballot, and so procured the confirmation of the measure by the votes of some hundreds of ladies and gentlemen, for the most part utterly ignorant of the merits of the case.‡

The provision made by the supreme government for the widows and adopted son,§ was censured by the directors; and Lord Dalhousie writes, that although the Hon. Court had declared "their desire to provide liberally for the family, and their wish that the ladies should retain jewels, furniture, and other personal property suitable to their rank, they still objected that the grant of so much property, which was fairly at the disposal of the government, was greatly in excess of what was required."‖

The Kingdom of Nagpoor "became British territory by simple lapse, in the absence of all legal heirs;" for the government, says Lord Dalhousie, "refused to bestow the territory, in free gift, upon a stranger,¶ and wisely incorporated it with its own dominions."**

Absorption was becoming a very familiar process to the British functionaries, and the addition of a population of about 4,650,000, and an area of 76,432 square miles,†† appeared to excite little attention or interest. Parliamentary returns prove, however, that the kingdom was not extinguished without palpable signs of dissatisfaction, and even some attempt at resistance on the part of the native government. The ranees, or queens, on the death of the rajah in December, 1853, requested leave to take advantage of the Hindoo law, which vested in them, or at least in the chief of them—the right of adopting a son, and of exercising the powers of the regency. They offered to adopt, according to the pleasure of the supreme government, any one of the rightful heirs, who, they alleged, existed, and were entitled to succeed to the sovereignty; "both according to the customs of the family and the Hindoo law, and also agreeably to the practice in such cases pursued under the treaties." The reply was a formal intimation, that the orders issued by the government of India having been confirmed by the Hon. Court of Directors, the prayer of the ranees for the restitution of the raj to the family could not be granted. The maharanee, called the Banka Bye (a

* The question of the right of adoption, says Mr. Sullivan, was treated by all the authorities at home and abroad as if it had been an entirely new one, and was decided in the negative; whereas, it appeared, by records which were dragged forth after judgment was passed in the Sattara case, that the question had been formally raised, and as formally decided in favour of the right, twenty years before; and that this decision had been acted upon in no less than fifteen instances in the interval.—Pamphlet on the *Double Government*, published by India Reform Society; p. 24.

† Lieutenant-general Briggs, in his evidence before the Cotton Committee appointed in 1848, mentioned having superintended the construction of a road made entirely by natives for the rajah of Sattara, thirty-six miles long, and eighteen feet wide, with drains and small bridges for the whole distance.

‡ Sullivan's *Double Government*, p. 26.

§ They were allowed to retain jewels, &c., to the value of sixteen lacs, and landed property worth 20,000 rupees a-year. Pensions were also granted (from the revenue) to the three ranees, of £45,000, £30,000, and £25,000 respectively.—Parl. Papers (Commons), 5th March, 1856; p. 10.

‖ Parl. Papers, &c., p. 10.

¶ Lord Dalhousie, in a minute dated 10th June, 1854, admits that lineal members of the Bhonslay family existed; but adds, "they are all the progeny of daughters."—Parl. Papers (Commons), 16th June, 1856.

** Minute, dated 28th February, 1856; p. 8.

†† Parl. Papers (Commons), 16th April, 1858.

very aged woman, of remarkable ability, who had exercised the authority of regent during the minority of her grandson, the late rajah), and the younger ranees, were not entirely unsupported in their endeavours for the continuance of the state, or at least for the obtainment of some concessions from the paramount power. The commissioner, and former resident, Mr. Mansel, represented the disastrous effect which the annexation of Nagpoor was calculated to produce upon certain influential classes. The dependent chiefs, the agriculturists, and the small shopkeepers would, he considered, "if not harshly agitated by new measures," be easily reconciled to British rule; but—

"The officers of the army, the courtiers, the priesthood, the chief merchants and bankers who had dealings with the rajah's treasury and household—all the aristocracy, in fact, of the country, see in the operation of the system that British rule involves, the gradual diminution of their exclusive consequence, and the final extinction of their order."*

The extinction of the aristocracy was calculated to affect the mass of the population more directly than would at first seem probable. Mr. Mansel truly says—

"The Indian native looks up to a monarchical and aristocratic form of life; all his ideas and feelings are pervaded with respect for it. Its ceremonies and state are an object of amusement and interest to all, old and young; and all that part of the happiness of the world which is produced by the gratification of the senses, is largely maintained by the existence of a court, its pageantry, its expenditure, and communication with the people. Without such a source of patronage of merit, literary and personal, the action of life in native society as it is and must long be, would be tame and depressing. * * * It is the bitter cry on all sides, that our rule exhibits no sympathy, especially for the native of rank, and not even for other classes of natives. It is a just, but an ungenerous, unloveable system that we administer, and this tone is peculiarly felt in a newly-acquired country. It may be that we cannot re-create, but we may pause ere we destroy a form of society already existing, and not necessarily barren of many advantages. * * * The main energies of the public service in India are directed to, or absorbed in, the collection of revenue and the repressing of rural crime; and the measures applied to the education of the native people are of little influence; while many of our own measures—as in the absorption of a native state (if we sweep clean the family of the native prince and the nobility gradually from the land)—are deeply depressing on the national character and social system."†

He therefore recommended, with a view of reconciling the past with the future, in a change of government from Oriental to European hands, that the Nagpoor royal family should be permitted to exercise the right of adoption; to enjoy the privileges of titular chieftainship; and to retain possession of the palace in the city of Nagpoor, with a fixed income and a landed estate.

The reply to these recommendations was, that the governor-general in council could not conceal his surprise and dissatisfaction at the advocacy of a policy diametrically opposed to the declared views of the supreme authority. The grounds on which the British commissioner advocated the creation of a titular principality, were pronounced to be weak and untenable; while all experience was alleged to be opposed to the measure which he had "most inopportunely forced" on the consideration of government. The king of Delhi, the nawab of Bengal, and the nawab-nizam of the Carnatic, were cited as so many examples of its impolicy: but "in all these cases, however, some purpose of great temporary expediency was served, or believed to be served, when the arrangement was originally made; some actual difficulty was got over by the arrangement; and, above all, the chiefs in question were existing things [?] before the arrangement." In the present instance, however, the official despatch declares there was no object of even temporary expediency to serve; no actual difficulty of any sort to be got over; no one purpose, political or other, to be promoted by the proposed measure.‡

The provision suggested by Mr. Mansel as suitable for the ranees in the event of his proposition being rejected, was condemned as extravagantly high; the hereditary treasure of the rajah, the governor-general considered, in accordance with the decision of the Hon. Court in an analogous case (Sattara), was "fairly at the disposal of the government, and ought not to be given up to be appropriated and squandered by the ranees."§

The money hoarded, having been accumulated, it was alleged, out of the public funds, was available to defray the arrears of the palace establishments—a reasonable

* Parl. Papers (Commons)—Annexation of Berar: No. 82; March 5th, 1856; p. 4.

† *Ibid.*, p. 6.

‡ *Ibid.*, pp. 12, 13.

§ The mode of appropriating the personal and hereditary treasure of the late rajah, suggested by the commissioner as likely to be approved by the ranees, was the building a bridge over the Kumaon river; and thus, in accordance with Hindoo custom, linking the family name to a great and useful work.

plea, which could not be urged in defence of the same seizure of personal savings in the case of Sattara.

This unqualified censure of the commissioner was followed by his removal, a proceeding directly calculated to inculcate the suppression not only of opinions, but even of facts, of an unpalatable kind. The half-measure which he had suggested might possibly have worked badly, as most half-measures do; but it was avowedly proposed as a compromise, and as a means of meeting difficulties, which the Calcutta authorities saw fit to ignore. No notice whatever was taken of Mr. Mansel's statement, that in arguing with the people at Nagpoor on the practice of putting the members of the family of a deceased chief on individual life pensions, upon the absorption of a state, they immediately (though not before unsubservient to the execution of orders from Calcutta for the extinction of sovereign powers) fell back upon the law and rights of the case, and contended that the treaty gave what was now being arbitrarily taken away.*

Nothing, indeed, could be more arbitrary than the whole proceeding. A military officer, Captain Elliot, was made officiating commissioner, and a large body of troops was placed at his disposal to overawe opposition, in the event of the royal family or their late subjects evincing any disposition to resist the fulfilment of the orders of the governor-general for the seizure of the treasure, hereditary jewels, and even the personal property and household effects of the deceased rajah, which were advertised to be sold by public auction, to provide a fund for the support of his family.

The ranees sent a vakeel, or ambassador, to Calcutta, to intreat that a stop should be put to the sale of effects held as private property for a century and a-half; "and, further, for the cessation of the unjust, oppressive, and humiliating treatment shown by the commissioner, under the alleged orders of government, towards the maharanees and the other heirs and members of the family of the late rajah, whose lives are embittered and rendered burdensome by the cruel conduct and indignities to which they have been obliged to submit."

Repeated memorials were sent in by the ranees, concerning "the disrespect and contumely" with which they were treated by the acting commissioner, and also regarding the manner in which the sales by auction were conducted, and property sacrificed; particularly cattle and horses: a pair of bullocks, for instance, estimated to be worth 200 rupees, being sold for twenty.

The official return of the proceeds of the rajah's live stock, tends to corroborate the statement of the ranees. A hundred camels only realised 3,138 rupees, and 182 bullocks only 2,018; elephants, horses, and ponies in large numbers, sold at equally low prices. The remonstrances of the ranees were treated with contemptuous indifference. The government refused to recognise their envoys, and would receive no communications except through the official whose refusal to forward their appeals was the express reason of their having endeavoured to reach the ear of the governor-general by some other channel.

The removal of the property from the palace was attended by considerable excitement. The native officer employed by the English government, was "hustled and beaten" in the outer courtyard of the palace. The sepoys on duty inside the square, are described by Captain Elliot in his rather singular account of the matter, "as not affording that protection and assistance they were bound to do; for, setting aside Jumal-oo-deen's [the native officer's] rank, position, and employment, he was married, and somewhat lame." There was great excitement in the city, as well as in and about the palace, and great crowds had assembled and were assembling. It was doubtful to what extent opposition might have been organised, for the aged maharanee was asserted to have sent a message to the British officer in command, that if the removal of property were attempted, she would set the palace on fire. This threat, if made, was never executed: reinforcements of troops were introduced into the city, and the orders of the government were quietly carried through. The governor-general considered that the "scandalous conduct" of the sepoys and rifle guards on duty, ought to have been punished by dismissal from the service; but it had been already passed over in silence, and so no martyrs were made to the cause, and the affair passed over as an ebullition of that "floating feeling of national regret," which Mr. Mansel had previously described as ready to discharge itself in dangerous force upon any objects within its range.

* Parl. Papers on Berar, p. 7.

The maharanee denied having incited or approved the resistanee offered by her people; but the Calcutta authorities persisted in considering that a plan of resistanee had been organised by her during the night preceding the disturbances which took plaee in the morning of the 11th of Oetober, 1854, and threatened to hold the ranees generally responsible, in the event of any repetition of such seenes as those which had already brought down upon them the displeasure of government.

The ladies were, no doubt, extremely alarmed by this intimation, which the officiating commissioner conveyed to them, he writes, in "most unmistakable language." The sale of the chief part of the jewels and heirlooms (estimated at from £500,000 to £750,000 in value)* was carried on unopposed in the public bazaars; a proceeding which the then free press did not fail to communicate to the general public, and to comment on severely.† Of the money hidden within the saered precincts of the zenana, 136 bags of silver rupees had been surrendered; but there was a further store of gold mohurs, with the existenee of which the Banka Bye had herself acquainted the British functionaries immediately after the death of her grandson, as a proof of her desire to conceal nothing from them. When urged, she expressed her readiness to surrender the treasure; but pleaded as a reason for delay, the extreme, and as it speedily proved, mortal sickness of Unpoora Bye, the chief widow, in whose apartments the treasure was hidden, and her great unwillingness to permit its removal. The commissioner appears to have treated this plea as a continuation of "the old system of delay and passive resistanee to all one's instructions and wishes." Nevertheless, he deemed it objectionable "to use force;" and "was unwilling that Captain Crichton [the officer in command] should go upstairs on this occasion, or take any aetive part in this matter," it being "better to avoid a seene:" and, as an alternative, he advised "writing off the amount known to be buried, to the debit of the ranees, deducting the same from their annual allowance, and telling them the same was at their disposal and in their own possession."‡

* Parl. Papers (Annexation of Berar), p. 9.

† *Indian News*, 2nd April, 1855.

‡ Letter from officiating commissioner, Capt. Elliot, to government, 13th Dec., 1854.—Parl. Papers, p. 44.

The princesses would have been badly off had this arrangement been carried out, for the amount of hoarded treasure had been exaggerated, as it almost invariably is in such cases; and although no doubt is expressed that the formal surrender of 10,000 gold mohurs (made immediately after the delivery of the governor-general's threatening message) included the entire hoard, yet double that sum was expected; the other half having, it is alleged, been previously expended.

The maharanee excited the angry suspicions of the Calcutta government by a despairing effort for the maintenance of the state, with which she felt the honour of her house indissolubly allied. It appeared, that Major Ramsay, then resident at Nepaul, had, when occupying the same position at the court of Nagpoor, been on very bad terms with the deceased rajah. The Banka Bye attributed the extinction of the raj to his representations, and sent a vakeel to him, in the hope of deprecating his opposition, and obtaining his favourable intervention. The errand of the vakeel was misunderstood, and attributed to a desire to communicate with the Nepaulese sovereign on the subject of the annexation of Nagpoor. Under this impression, the governor-general in council declared, that the ranees had no right whatever to communicate with native courts; that it was impossible to put any other than an unfavourable construetion on their attempt to do so: and the aeting commissioner was officially desired to acquaint them, that the repetition of such an act would "certainly lead to substantial proof of the displeasure of government being manifested to them."

On the mistake being discovered, the following minute was recorded by the governor-general, and concurred in by the four members of council whose names have beeome lately familiar to the British public. Its curt tone contrasts forcibly with that adopted by the Marquis Wellesley, and his great brother, in their arrangements for the royal family of Mysoor: yet the dynasty of Hyder Ali had been founded on reeent usurpation, and overthrown in open fight; while that of Berar represented a native power of 150 years' duration, and long in peaceful allianee with the Company as a protected state. The age and reputation of the Banka Bye, her former position as regent, the remarkable influence exercised by her during the late reign, and her

uniform adhesion to the British government,—these, together with the dying state of Unpoora Bye, the eldest of the rajah's widows, and the bereaved condition of them all, might well have dictated a more respectful consideration of their complaints and misapprehensions, than is apparent in the brief but comprehensive account given by the supreme government, of the groundless charge which had been brought against the princesses :—

"It now appears that the vakeel sent by the ranees of Nagpoor to Nepaul, was intended, not for the durbar, but for Major Ramsay, the resident there. Major Ramsay, when officiating resident at Nagpoor, was compelled to bring the late rajah to order. The rajah complained of him to me, in 1848. The officiating resident was in the right, and, of course, was supported. It seems that these ladies now imagine that Major Ramsay's supposed hostility has influenced me, and that his intercession, if obtained, might personally move me. The folly of these notions need not to be noticed. The vakeel not having been sent to the durbar, nothing more need be said about the matter."*

The means used by Major Ramsay "to bring the rajah to order," had been previously called in question, owing to certain passages in the despatch which had occasioned the supersession of Mr. Mansel. These passages are given at length, in evidence of the entirely opposite manner in which successive British residents at Nagpoor exercised the extraordinary powers entrusted to them; interfering in everything, or being absolutely nonentities (except as a drain upon the finances of the state they were, barnacle-like, attached to), according to their temper of mind and habit of body.

"In my arguments," says Mr. Mansel, "with natives upon the subject of the expediency and propriety of the British government dealing with the Nagpoor case as a question of pure policy, I have put to them the position, that we had all of us at Nagpoor, for the last two years, found it impracticable to carry on the government decently. I remarked that Major Wilkinson, after a long struggle, succeeded in getting the rajah within his own influence, and, by his fine sagacity and perfect experience, had controlled him whenever he chose. Colonel Speirs, from decaying health, was latterly unable to put much check upon the rajah, though his perfect knowledge of affairs of the day here, and of Oriental courts in general, would otherwise have been most valuable. Major Ramsay† pursued a course of uncompromising interference, and, in a state of almost chronic disease, attempted a perfect restoration to health. Mr. Davidson, as his health grew worse, left the rajah to do as he liked; and under the argument, that it was better to work by personal influence than by fear, he left the rajah to do as he pleased, with something like the pretence of an invalid physician—that his patient would die with too much care, and required gentle treatment. During my incumbency, I found the rajah so much spoiled by the absolute indulgence of my predecessor, that I was gradually driven to adopt the radical reform of Major Ramsay, or the extreme conservatism of Mr. Davidson; and in the struggle which latterly ensued between myself and the rajah, his end was undoubtedly hastened by vexation at my insisting on his carrying out the reform in spirit as well as to the letter. * * * The argument of the natives, with whom I have frequently conferred on this subject, is, that the British residents at Nagpoor should participate in the blame charged to the rajah by myself; for if the same system of advice and check which was contemplated by the last treaty, had been carried out from first to last, the rajah would never have been tempted into the habits of indolence and avarice that latterly made him make his own court and the halls of justice a broker's shop, for the disposal of official favours and the sale of justice. The answer to this is, that the British government does its best; that it sends its highest servants to a residency; and if the principles or abilities of the different incumbents vary, it is only natural and incidental to any colonial system in the world. The result, however, is, that the management of the country gets into all kinds of embarrassment, of death, judicial corruption, and irresponsibility of ministers, when the readiest course is to resume those sovereign powers that were delegated on trust."‡

Surely the foregoing statements of the last "incumbent" of the Nagpoor residency, afford a clear exposition of the mischievous effects of establishing, at the courts of native princes, a powerful functionary, whose office combines the duties of a foreign ambassador with those of a domestic counsellor, or rather dictator. If the

* Minute, dated November, 1854. Parl. Papers (Annexation of Berar), p. 41. Signed—Dalhousie, J. Dorin, J. Low, J. P. Grant, B. Peacock.

† Major Ramsay denies this; and, while bearing testimony to the "high character" of Mr. Mansel, says, that the policy adopted by the latter was radically opposed to his own, for that he had pursued the most rigid system of non-interference with any of the details of the local government; whereas Mr. Mansel appointed, or caused the appointment of, several individuals to responsible offices in the Nagpoor government, and set apart particular days in the week on which the heads of departments waited upon him at the residency, and submitted their reports and proceedings.—Letter of Major Ramsay to government, 5th February, 1855—Parl. Papers, pp. 46; 53.

‡ Letter of Commissioner Mansel, 29th April, 1854—Parl. Papers, p. 7. See *Indian Empire*, vol. i., p. 420, for an account of the circumstances under which the so-called delegation of sovereign powers was made in the case alluded to.

resident be an upright man, he can scarcely fail to be distracted by the conflicting interests of the paramount and dependent states—the two masters whom he is bound to serve; and if of a sensitive disposition, he cannot but feel the anomalous character of his situation at the elbow of a dependent sovereign, who must naturally regard him as something between a schoolmaster and a spy. No doubt there have been British residents whose influence has been markedly beneficial to native states; not only formerly, when their position was better defined, and, from circumstances, involved less temptation to, or necessity for, interference in the internal affairs of the state, but even of late years. The general effect, however, has been the deterioration and depression painted with half unconscious satire by Mr. Mansel, in the case of Nagpoor.

The circumstances attending the annexation of this state, have been dwelt on more on account of the incidental revelations which they involve of the practical working of a pernicious system, than from any special interest which attaches to the particular question so summarily decided by Lord Dalhousie. No connected statement of the case has been made public on behalf of the princesses, notwithstanding the spirited attempts made by the Banka Bye to obtain a fair hearing. When the governor-general refused to receive any communication through her envoys, she sent them to England, in the hope of obtaining a reversal of the decision pronounced at Calcutta. The vakeels complained of the treatment which the ranees had met with, especially of the strict surveillance under which they were placed: their statements were published in the newspapers, and the new commissioner for Nagpoor (Mr. Plowden) took up the matter in resentment. Meantime, Unpoora Bye died (14th Nov., 1855), her end being embittered, and probably accelerated, by the same mental distress which is acknowledged to have hastened that of her husband. The aged maharanee abandoned further opposition, and wrote to London to dismiss her vakeels (2nd Dec., 1855), on the ground that, instead of obeying her orders, and laying her case before the authorities in a supplicating way, so that her "honour and humble dignity might be upheld," they had displayed a great deal of imprudence, and used calumnious expressions against the British officers. She informed them, with significant brevity, of the death of Unpoora Bye; adding—"Well, what has happened, has happened." This letter, which is alike indicative of the character of the writer and of the dictation (direct or indirect) under which it was written, closes the series of papers, published by order of parliament, regarding the annexation of Berar.

The territory resumed from Ali Morad, one of the Ameers of Sinde, in 1852, comprised an area of 5,412 square miles. The reason of the resumption has been already stated.*

Odeipore is mentioned, in a Return (called for by the House of Commons in April, 1858) "of the Territories and Tributaries in India acquired since the 1st of May, 1851," as having been annexed in 1853. The area comprises 2,306 square miles, with a population of 133,748 persons. This place must not be confounded with the two Oodipoors (great and small) in Rajast'han, the absorption of which even Lord Dalhousie would scarcely have ventured on attempting.

The territory resumed from Toola Ram Senaputtee, in Cachar, in 1853, comprises 2,160 acres of land; but, unlike Odeipore, has only the disproportionate population of 5,015.†

Hyderabad.—In 1853, the Nizam concluded a new treaty with the Company, by which he transferred to them one-third of his country, to meet the expenses of the contingent maintained by him, but disciplined and commanded by British officers. The resident, Major-general Fraser, when the proposition for the cession of territory first came under consideration in 1851, recommended nothing less than the deposition of the Nizam, and the assumption of sovereign power by the Company for a definite number of years—a measure which he considered justified by the weak character of the Nizam, and the disorganised state of his administration. This proposition was at once rejected by Lord Dalhousie, who ably argued, that the transfer of the administration to the British government would never be consented to by the Nizam; that to impose it upon him without his consent, would be a violation of treaties; that the Nizam was neither cruel, nor ambitious, nor tyrannical; that his maladministration of his own kingdom did not materially affect the security of British territory, or the interests of British subjects; and that the

* See *Indian Empire,* vol. i., p. 452.
† Parl. Paper (Commons), 16th April, 1858.

British authorities were neither called on, nor at liberty, to set aside an independent native government because, in their opinion, that government exercised its authority in a manner injurious to its subjects.* "The debt," Lord Dalhousie says, "which burdens the Nizam has been produced by the contingent. The monthly subsidy for which the resident at Hyderabad maintains a perpetual wrestle with the dewan [native chancellor of the exchequer], and which transforms the representative of the British government, by turns, into an importunate creditor and a bailiff in execution, is the pay of the contingent." The governor-general proceeds to expose the misinterpretation of the article of the treaty of 1800; which provided that the British army should, in time of war, be reinforced by a body of 15,000 of the Nizam's troops; but which had "been made to justify our requiring the Nizam to uphold a force of about 5,000 infantry, 2,000 horse, and four field batteries, officered by British officers, controlled by the British resident, trained on the British system, not in war only, but permanently, at a very costly rate, and so as to be available for the use of the Nizam only when the representative of the British government has given his consent."†

The scale of expenditure on which the contingent was maintained, was inordinate. Lord Dalhousie, in a minute of the 25th of September, 1848, declared—"I agree with Colonel Low in thinking that we cause the contingent to become a much heavier burden on the Nizam's finances than it ought to be. The staff, in my humble judgment, is preposterously large. The pay and allowances, and charges of various kinds, are far higher than they ought to be." Still, nothing was done to reduce this ruinous waste of public funds; for in March, 1853, another minute, by the same ready pen, described the contingent as having no less than five brigadiers, with brigade-majors, attached to it, and a military secretary, who drew the same salary as the adjutant-general of the Bengal army. By the rules of the force, the officers were promoted to superior grades, and to higher pay, earlier than they would have been in their own service; and, altogether, the expenses were "unusually and unnecessarily heavy."‡

The plan devised for compelling the payment, by the Nizam, of expenditure thus recklessly incurred in the maintenance of a contingent which no treaty bound him to support, and which had existed on sufferance from the time of the Mahratta war, without any formal sanction on the part of either government, is vaunted as extremely liberal, apparently because it fell short of total annexation.

The sum claimed was about seventy-five lacs,§ or £750,000 (including interest at six per cent.); to provide for the payment of which, the supreme government demanded the transfer of "districts to the value of not less than thirty-five lacs per annum, so as to provide for the payment of the principal of the debt within three years, and further to afford a margin, which should in each year be applicable to meet any partial deficiencies which might still occur in the supply of monthly pay for the troops of the contingent."‖ The resident pointed out, as the districts of which the British government might most fitly and advantageously demand possession, the Berar Payeen Ghaut, the border districts from thence down to Shorapoor,¶ and the territory of the dooab, between the Kistnah and the Toombuddra; which, together, comprised the whole frontier of the Nizam's kingdom along its northern and western boundaries, and along its southern boundary, as far as the junction of the above-named rivers.

"The Berar Payeen Ghaut (he adds) is, without exception, the richest and most fertile part of the Nizam's country, and the Raichore dooab is the next to it in this respect. These two districts hold out great prospect of improvement in regard to revenue and commerce, from an extended culture of the two articles of cotton and opium. * * * The quantity of opium now cultivated in Berar Payeen Ghaut,

* Parl. Papers, 26th July, 1854; p. 3.

† Minute by the governor-general, June, 1851.—Parl. Papers—*Ibid.*, p. 100.

‡ Parl. Papers—*Ibid.*, pp. 4; 103.

§ Minute by governor-general, 27th May, 1851.—Parl. Papers—*Ibid.*, p. 32.

‖ *Ibid.*, p. 34.

¶ The resident, Major-general Fraser, adds a remark on Shorapoor, which illustrates the systematic encroachment, manifested in so many ways, and excused by such various pretexts. The rajah of Shorapoor, he says, "is near his majority; but, I presume, that when that district is given over to his charge, measures will be taken by the supreme government for keeping it, for some years at least, subject to the control of a British officer. It is at present in a favourable and improving state; but if given up to the young rajah's exclusive and uncontrolled authority, it will quickly revert to the same state of barbarism in which it was before."—Parl. Papers—*Ibid.*, p. 14. Shorapoor is inhabited by the Bedars, a warlike aboriginal tribe, whose chief claims a descent of more than thirty centuries.

as well as of cotton, might be greatly increased, and the duty upon them would form, in itself, a very productive source of revenue."

Captain Meadows Taylor likewise gave an extremely tempting account of the same districts; he referred to the reported existence of very valuable anicuts, and described the Raichore district as well supplied with tanks.

Temporary occupation, for the liquidation of the outstanding debt, was all that was to be immediately demanded; but Lord Dalhousie avowedly anticipated the probability of being compelled to retain these districts permanently, for the regular payment of the contingent. Major-general Fraser entered more fully into the subject; and his statements show, in the clearest manner, the irremediable disorder into which the proposed step was calculated to plunge the finances of Hyderabad. He writes (4th February, 1851):—

"We are about to assume, in pursuance of a just right to do so, which cannot be denied, the temporary management of a tract of country yielding from thirty to forty lacs of rupees; and the Nizam, therefore, will have so much income less to meet those demands, to which his whole and undivided revenue has long been proved to be quite unequal. He has been unable, for the last five years, to pay the contingent, except by partial instalments only, although he considers this the first and most important payment incumbent on his government to make; and it cannot, therefore, be expected that he should be able to meet this essential claim upon him with his financial means diminished to the extent above mentioned. It is all but certain that he will not be able to pay the contingent [*brigadiers, brigade-majors, military secretaries, and all*] for any further period than perhaps the next two months, and this, probably, but in small proportion only. The ultimate consequence, then, must be (and I see no reason why this argument should not be set before him in a plain and distinct light), that we should be under the necessity of retaining, permanently, in our possession the territory of which we are now about to assume the temporary charge."

The Nizam felt the iron pale which surrounded his kingdom closing in, and made an attempt at resistance which astonished the supreme authorities, and disconcerted, or at least delayed, the execution of their arrangements. Open resistance the governor-general was prepared to overwhelm by taking military possession of the specified districts. The Nizam was too prudent, or too powerless, to offer any. Suraj-ool-Moolk, the chief minister, appointed in compliance with Lord Dalhousie's suggestion, and pronounced by him to be the only man who seemed to possess the capacity to grapple with the difficulties of the state, pointed out the certain ruin which the proposed cession would involve. The districts demanded, he said, afforded one-third of the entire revenue; another third would be required for the regular monthly payment of the contingent, &c.: and only one-third being left to carry on the entire administration, both the Nizam and his subjects would be reduced to distress for the means of existence.

Arguments of this nature had been anticipated, and would probably have made little impression, had they not been followed up by a distinct offer for the immediate liquidation of arrears. The resident had received no instructions how to act in so unexpected a case, and he therefore wrote word to Calcutta, that pending further orders, he had judged it his duty to consent to leave the question of the transfer of the districts in temporary abeyance, the Nizam having found means to take upon himself the entire and immediate payment of his debt, and to give "the best security that could be offered for the future regular payment of the contingent, short of the actual transfer, to us, of part of his country for this purpose."*

The first half of the debt was paid at once; the second proved more difficult to be raised in the precise manner required, although the Nizam contributed thirty lacs of rupees (£30,000) from his private funds. Suraj-ool-Moolk requested that a favourable rate of exchange might be allowed for the Nizam's bills, in consideration of the interest paid by him direct to the British government, of that exacted by usurers on sums borrowed on the same account, and especially because of the notorious embarrassments of the state. He asked that the existing average rate of exchange on the Company's bills should be applied to the Nizam's, and that these latter should be credited according to their dates. In support of his first request, he urged that it was the universal practice to pay a debt at the current rate of exchange, and not at the rate which prevailed when the loan was made; adding, that it ought to be borne in mind, that the present debt had accumulated, in the course of seven years, by comparatively small sums; and the whole of it was now required to be paid within four months. With regard to the

* Letter of Resident Fraser, 16th July, 1851.—Parl. Papers (Nizam's Territory), p. 52.

second point, he said—"If instead of hoondees [bills], the Circar [state] paid the amount of the debt to you in cash, and you found it expedient to remit the money to the residencies, you would have to pay ready money to the soucars [bankers] for the hoondees you procured for this purpose; and as I send you hoondees so purchased, instead of the coin, I do not think I am unreasonable in requesting that credit may be given to this Circar [state] on the dates the hoondees are delivered to you."*

But the resident would hear of no allowance; no deductions in any way. The financial difficulties of the Nizam were a subject of regret; but it was not "equitable, that the loss of which Suraj-ool-Moolk complained, should be lessened at the expense of the British government."

The 31st of October—the time specified for the payment of the second and final instalment—arrived. The Nizam, though unable to raise the entire sum required, yet managed to furnish a considerable portion of it, and acted in such a manner as to convince the resident that he was really "exerting himself, in good faith, to liquidate the whole." The governor-general records this, in a minute dated 3rd January, 1852; yet, at the same time, he was occupied in framing a treaty which was to deprive the Nizam of the territory he had made so strenuous an effort to retain. Colonel Low was dispatched to Hyderabad to conduct the negotiations; "his judgment, firmness, and conciliatory demeanour" being relied on to bring about the issue desired by the supreme government. The task was neither an easy nor a pleasant one.

The proposals now made were, that the Nizam should cede the frontier districts in perpetuity, and receive, in return, a receipt in full for the portion of the instalment he had failed to pay in October, and likewise for the future subsistence of the contingent, which the Company proposed to reorganise in their own name, on a reduced scale, transforming it from the Nizam's force into one to be maintained for him by the government. There was, moreover, a subsidiary force, which the Company were bound to maintain in perpetuity by the treaty of 1800, within the state of Hyderabad; the funds being provided by the cession of the Nizam's share of the territory acquired from Mysoor.† The government had need of these troops, and desired to obtain, by a new treaty, the right of employing the chief part of them elsewhere, on the plea of there being no necessity for them in Hyderabad; the danger of external foes which existed when the arrangement was first made, and when the Mahrattas were in the height of their power and turbulence, having long since passed away.

It was true that, by this particular part of the proposed arrangement, the Nizam would be no loser; because the contingent, and the large number of troops in his immediate service, alone exceeded the ordinary requirements of the state. Only, as Lord Dalhousie wanted the services of the subsidiary force elsewhere, and as the contingent force, to a great extent, performed its duties and supplied its place, it is evident that there could be no excuse for appropriating the services of the former body without contributing to the expenses of the latter, which amounted to £30,000 a month.‡

This was never even contemplated; and the state of Hyderabad having been made to furnish funds in perpetuity for a subsidiary force, was now to be compelled to cede territory for the support of another distinct but very similar body of troops, and to place the former at the service of the British government without receiving any compensation whatever.

It is true the Nizam was to be given the option of disbanding the contingent; but then the immediate ruin of the country was anticipated by the resident as so palpable and certain a consequence of such a measure, that the idea was viewed as one of the last the Nizam would entertain. Even in the event of his choosing this hazardous alternative, in a desperate endeavour to relieve his finances from the incubus with which they had been so long burdened, the transfer of territory was still to be insisted on, at least temporarily, for the payment of arrears, "and for covering the future expenses of the force during the time necessary for its absorption, in the gradual manner required by good faith to existing personal interests."§

* Letter from Sooraj-ool-Moolk, 14th August, 1851.—Parl. Papers (Nizam's Territory), p. 70.

† For the origin and establishment of the subsidiary force, see *Indian Empire*, vol. i., pp. 373; 378.

‡ Parl. Papers (Nizam's Territory), 26th July, 1854; p. 94.

§ Despatch from directors, 2nd November, 1853. —Parl. Papers—*Ibid.*, p. 8.

"Beneficial as these proposals are, especially to the Nizam," writes Lord Dalhousie, "it is anticipated that his highness will be reluctant to assent to them:" and, in the event of his reluctance amounting to a positive refusal to sign the new treaty, military possession was ordered to be taken of the coveted districts.

The Nizam was, as had been anticipated, incapable of appreciating the advantages offered him: he saw no occasion for any new treaty at all; earnestly craved for time to pay off the debt; and promised to meet the expenses of the contingent with regularity for the future—a promise which, however, there is reason to fear he lacked the means of performing. At first, he seems to have been inclined to stand at bay; and in the opening conference with Colonel Low, he took up the strong point of his case, and put it very clearly.

"In the time of my father," said the Nizam, "the Peishwa of Poona became hostile both to the Company's government and to this government, and Sir Henry Russell (the resident) organised this contingent, and sent it in different directions, along with the Company's troops, to fight the Mahratta people; and this was all very proper, and according to the treaty; for those Mahrattas were enemies of both states; and the Company's army and my father's army conquered the ruler of Poona, and you sent him off a prisoner to Hindoostan, and took the country of Poona.* After that, there was no longer any war; so why was the contingent kept up any longer than the war?"

Colonel Low was not prepared to meet an argument which went at once to the gist of the question; and he made, as an honest man could not help doing, a very lame reply, excusing himself on the plea, that thirty-six years had elapsed since the occurrence of the events alluded to by the Nizam; that he (the colonel) was not in Hyderabad at the time; but that he supposed the reigning prince had considered the maintenance of the contingent a good arrangement, and therefore consented to it. He proceeded to represent the necessity of retaining this force to overawe the Arabs, Rohillas, Seiks, and other plunderers, and to enable the Nizam to collect his revenues: adding, that the governor-general was so much disposed to act liberally in the matter, that he would probably aid in reducing the expenses of the contingent, if that were desired. The Nizam here abruptly terminated the conference.

A draft treaty was sent in, providing for the required cession; and the Nizam was reminded, that he would thereby gain relief, in future, from the heavy interest he had been compelled to pay on money borrowed for the maintenance of the contingent. His reiterated reply was—"A change in a treaty, be it what it may, can never be an advantage to a sovereign who prefers, as I do, that there should not be any change at all." He reluctantly consented to discuss the subject again with the resident, and received him at the second interview with a flushed face and excited manner, which, at first sight, resembled the effects of wine or opium. This was not the case; for the Nizam had never shown himself more acute in argument, nor more fluent in conversation; but he was very angry, and had been sitting up nearly all night examining the treaty with his chief nobles. "Two acts," he said, "on the part of a sovereign prince are always reckoned disgraceful: one is, to give away, unnecessarily, any portion of his hereditary territories; and the other is, to disband troops who have been brave and faithful in his service. * * * Did I ever make war against the English government, or intrigue against it? or do anything but co-operate with it, and be obedient to its wishes, that I should be so disgraced?"† Again and again he asked to be allowed to pay the forty-six lacs of rupees then owing, and provide security for future regularity; but the resident reminded him that similar pledges had been repeatedly violated, and urged him to accept the governor-geueral's proposition, and apply the sum he spoke of in lessening the heavy arrears of his own troops and servants. The Nizam, in reply, made what impartial readers may consider a natural and sensible speech; but which the resident reported as illustrative of "his highness's peculiar and strange character."

"Gentlemen like you," he said, "who are sometimes in Europe, and at other times in India; sometimes employed in government business, at other times soldiers; sometimes sailors, and at other times even engaged in commerce (at least I have heard that some great men of your tribe have been merchants), you cannot understand the nature of my feelings in this matter. I am a sovereign prince, born to live and

* See *Indian Empire*, vol. i., p. 419.

† Parl. Papers (Nizam's Territory), p. 119.

die in this kingdom, which has belonged to my family for seven generations. You think that I could be happy if I were to give up a portion of my kingdom to your government in perpetuity: it is totally impossible that I could be happy; I should feel that I was disgraced. I have heard that one gentleman of your tribe considered that I ought to be quite contented and happy if I were put upon the same footing as Mohammed Ghouse Khan [the Nawab of Arcot]; to have a pension paid to me like an old servant, and have nothing to do but to eat and sleep and say my prayers. Wah!"*

Other remarks followed; the Nizam went over all the most disputed portions of former negotiations, and said that the Company ought to give him territory instead of taking any away. He complained bitterly of the discreditable transactions connected with the firm of Palmer & Co., by which his father had sustained both territorial and pecuniary loss;† and adverted sarcastically to the high value the British power placed on money. The second interview terminated as unsatisfactorily as the first. A third followed, at which the Nizam received the resident with "something of sadness in his expression of countenance," yet "with due courtesy and politeness." But he soon grew excited, and said angrily, "Suppose I were to declare that I don't want the contingent at all?" In that case, he was told, some years might elapse before the men could be otherwise provided for, and the specified districts would still be required to provide for them in the interim.

The conversation came to a standstill, and the resident broke silence by asking a decided answer to the question—whether the Nizam would consent to form a new treaty? "I could answer in a moment," was the retort; "but what is the use of answering? If you are determined to take districts, you can take them without my either making a new treaty, or giving any answer at all."

Once more the discussion was adjourned. The government had resolved, in case of necessity, "to take possession of the districts by physical force;"‡ but a difficulty arose as to the troops to be employed. There were, indeed, more than sufficient for the purpose already stationed within the limits of Hyderabad; but the employment of troops ostensibly organised for the Nizam's service, in direct opposition to his will, would, one of the members of government observed, be a measure of doubtful propriety in the case of the subsidiary force, but, beyond all doubt, wrong in the case of the contingent. The same minute shows how completely native contingents were viewed as identified with British interests, and how little anticipation was then entertained that a time was coming when the majority would mutiny, murder their officers, and fight to the death against the united power of their own princes and the British government: it also illustrates the anomalous condition of contingent troops in general, on whom such divided allegiance as is here described, must necessarily have sat lightly; and who were counted upon by the supreme government, as being ready, at any moment, to march against the person and the capital of their ostensible master, to whom they had sworn allegiance, and whose salt they ate.

"I am quite satisfied," writes Sir Frederick Currie, "that the troops of the contingent would, at the command of the resident and their officers, march against the other troops of the state, against Hyderabad, and against the person of the Nizam himself, if so ordered, as readily as against any other parties, so entirely have they been taught to consider themselves our soldiers; but we must not, on that account, lose sight of the fact, that they are *bonâ fide* the Nizam's troops, enlisted (by British officers, it is true, but by British officers in the pay and service of the Nizam) in his name, sworn to allegiance to him, and obedience to his orders. It would be, to my mind, the very height of anarchy to order these troops to coerce their master in any way; but more especially so, to use them for the purpose of taking violent possession of a part of that master's territories in order to provide for their own pay."§

The government had therefore a special reason for desiring to procure the consent of the Nizam to their occupation of the frontier districts; beside which, the use of the subsidiary troops for their own purposes, could only be obtained by an article framed to supersede the rule by which they were "hampered"‖ in the treaty of 1800; and further, it was desirable to secure a legal sanction for the continued maintenance of the contingent.

At length a modification of the draft treaty was agreed upon, chiefly through

* An Arabic exclamation, indicative of anger and surprise, and uttered with uncontrollable passion.—Parl. Papers (Nizam's Territory), p. 120.

† *Indian Empire*, vol. i., p. 421.

‡ Resident's Letter.—Parl. Papers—*Ibid.*, p. 129.

§ Minute by Sir F. Currie, 2nd April, 1853.

‖ Minute by Mr. Dorin, 1st June, 1853.—Parl. Papers, p. 154.

the mediation of Shums-ool-Omrah, the uncle-in-law of the Nizam; who was described by the resident as having been famed, throughout a long life, for truthfulness and general respectability of character, and who evinced, at a very advanced age, remarkable manliness and good sense. The Nizam positively refused to sign away any of his territory in perpetuity; but he reluctantly consented to the temporary transfer of the districts to British management, on condition of regular accounts being rendered to him, and the surplus revenue being paid into his treasury, after the liquidation of the old debt, and the regular payment of the contingent, with some other items, should have been provided for.

The governor-general had previously declared, that "much consideration" was due to the Nizam on account of the unnecessary expense at which the contingent had been maintained; and had dwelt forcibly on the heavy pecuniary sacrifice the government was willing to make by cancelling the old debt. Why this benevolent intention was not carried out, does not clearly appear. The Nizam would have joyfully accepted the boon, if assured that it involved no latent responsibility; but it never seems to have been placed within his reach. Lord Dalhousie, in his long minute on the subject of the advantages procured by the treaty, says, "that in providing, beyond risk, the means of regularly paying the contingent, and of terminating all pecuniary transactions and consequent causes of dispute with the Nizam, the government of India secured an all-important object; to obtain which, it was prepared not merely to accept an assignment of districts only, but further to cancel the fifty lacs of rupees due to it." His lordship adds—"The government may well be content with a treaty which gives it what it sought without requiring the sacrifice it was ready and willing to make in return."

No doubt the new arrangement was an extremely favourable one for the British government, when viewed in the light of temporary financial expediency. The benefit to be derived by the prince, whom Lord Dalhousie truly called our "old and staunch ally," is by no means equally apparent.* Yet it would seem to have been so to the Calcutta council; for, in sending home to the Court of Directors the documents from which the preceding account has been exclusively framed, and the precise words of which have been, as far as possible, adhered to, entire confidence is expressed in the irrefragable proofs contained therein, "that the conduct of the government of India towards the Nizam, in respect of the contingent and of all his other affairs, has been characterised by unvarying good faith, liberality, and forbearance; and by a sincere desire to maintain the stability of the state of Hyderabad, and to uphold the personal independence of his highness the Nizam."

The directors evidently sympathised with Lord Dalhousie's views of the course prompted by such laudable motives, including "a due regard for our own interests."† They rejoiced to find the Indian government relieved "from the unbecoming position of an importunate creditor;" and presented their "cordial thanks to the governor-general, and the officers employed by him, in negotiating so satisfactory a treaty."

The transfer was effected in 1853. Since then, the annexation of Hyderabad has been openly canvassed, and, probably, would have been ere now completed, only the turn of Oude came first, and then—the mutiny. Fortunately for us, the Nizam died in the interim; otherwise, "the mingled exasperation and humiliation," which Lord Dalhousie himself declares the proceedings of the governor-general *must* have produced in his mind, would perhaps have taken a tangible form; and, to our other difficulties, might have been added that of struggling with "one of the most dangerous and fanatical Mussulman districts in India."‡

* Parl. Papers, p. 40.

† Minute and despatch by gov.-general, pp. 8, 9.

‡ See *Quarterly Review*, August, 1858; article on "British India," pp. 265, 266. The writer (believed to be Mr. Layard) refers to the "garbled" Blue Book from which the statement in the foregoing pages has been framed, as affording some insight into the manner in which Lord Dalhousie bullied the Nizam into a surrender of his three richest districts; and speaks of a letter full of unworthy invective and sarcasm, in which the latter is likened, by the former, "to the dust under his feet." This sentence is not printed in the only letter from the governor-general to the Nizam in the Parl. Papers; which contains, however, the strange assertion, that the efficient maintenance of the contingent force was a duty imposed upon the government of Hyderabad, by the stipulations of existing treaties—a statement refuted by his lordship in repeated minutes. The Nizam is also threatened with the resentment of that great government "whose power can crush you at its will;" and an anticipation is expressed, of the pain and anxiety which must be caused to his highness by "the plain and peremptory

The present Nizam was suffered to ascend his hereditary throne in peace, and will, it is to be hoped, reap the reward of his allegiance in the restoration of the assigned districts, which a recent authority has declared, "were filched from his father by a series of manœuvres as unjust and discreditable as any that may be found in the history of our administration of British India."*

The Principality of Jhansi (a name with which we have been of late painfully familiar), annexed in 1854, added to our dominions 2,532 square miles of territory, peopled by 200,000 souls. The attendant circumstances were peculiar. In 1804, a treaty was concluded with Sheo Rao Bhao, subahdar or viceroy of Jhansi, by Lord Lake, under what the government truly described as the "nominal" sanction of the Peishwa. The adhesion of this chief was then deemed of much importance, and his influence had effect in inducing many others to follow his example, and thus facilitated our operations in Bundelcund. In 1817, the Peishwa having ceded to us all his rights, feudal, territorial, and pecuniary, in that province, a new treaty was entered into, by which the governor-general, "in consideration of the very respectable character" borne by the lately deceased ruler, Sheo Rao Bhao, "and his uniform and faithful attachment to the British government, and in deference to his wish expressed before his death," consented to confirm the principality of Jhansi, in perpetuity, to his grandson Ram Chandra Rao, his heirs and successors.†

The administration of Ram Chandra was carried on so satisfactorily, that, in 1832, the title of maharajah was publicly conferred on him, in lieu of that of subahdar, by Lord William Bentinck, who was returning by Jhansi to Calcutta, from a tour of inspection in the Upper Provinces. The little state was then well ordered. Its ruler was a sensible, high-spirited young man; his aristocracy and army were composed of two or three thousand persons, chiefly of his own family and tribe; and his villages and people had as good an appearance as any in India. After the ceremony had been performed in the presence of all orders of his subjects, the maharajah approached the governor-general in the attitude of supplication, and craved yet another boon. His subjects watched with deep interest the bearing of their ruler, which, in their view, implied unqualified devotion and allegiance; but they noticed (according to a native writer) the smile of surprise and derision with which the ladies and officials in the viceregal suite regarded the scene. Lord William himself had a juster appreciation of native character, but he naturally feared some embarrassing request, and heard with relief, that the boon desired was simply permission to adopt the English ensign as the flag of Jhansi. A union-jack was at once placed in his hands, and forthwith hoisted, by his order, from the highest tower of his castle under a salute of one hundred guns. The significance of the act thus gracefully carried through, was beyond misapprehension; for the adoption of the flag of the supreme power by a dependent chieftain, was the expressive and well-known symbol of loyalty and identity of interest.‡

Upon the death of Ram Chandra in 1835, without male heirs, the succession was continued in the line of Sheo Rao. Gungadhur Rao, the son of Sheo, while yet a young man, was suddenly carried off by dysentery, on the 21st of November, 1853. The day before his death, the maharajah sent for the political agent of Bundelcund (Mr. Ellis), and the officer in command (Captain Martin), and delivered to them the following *khareeta*, or testament, which he caused to be read to them in his presence, before all his court.

"[After compliments.] The manner in which my ancestors were faithful to the British government, previous to the establishment of its authority [in Bundelcund], has become known even in Europe; and it is well known to the several agents here, that I also have always acted in obedience to the same authority.

"I am now very ill; and it is a source of great grief to me, that notwithstanding all my fidelity, and the favour conferred by

language" addressed to him. Mr. Bright quoted the sentence already given from the *Quarterly Review*, in his place in parliament (June 24th, 1858); adding—"Passages like these are left out of despatches when laid on the table of the House of Commons. It would not do for the parliament, or the Crown, or the people of England, to know that their officer addressed language like this to a native prince." It is further alleged, that when forced to make the transfer in question, the Nizam had a counter pecuniary claim, exceeding in demand that urged against him; which claim, though of old standing and repeatedly advanced, Lord Dalhousie refused to discuss, until the coveted districts should have been surrendered.

* *Quarterly Review*, p. 266.

† Parl. Papers (Jhansi), 27th July, 1855; pp. 1; 17.

‡ Indophilus' *Letters to the Times*, p. 11.

such a powerful government, the name of my fathers will end with me; and I have therefore, with reference to the second article of the treaty concluded with the British government, adopted Damoodhur Gungadhur Rao, commonly called Anund Rao, a boy of five years old, my grandson through my grandfather.* I still hope that, by the mercy of God, and the favour of your government, I may recover my health; and, as my age is not great, I may still have children; and should this be the case, I will adopt such steps as may appear necessary. Should I not survive, I trust that, in consideration of the fidelity I have evinced towards government, favour may be shown to this child, and that my widow, during her lifetime, may be considered the regent of the state (Malika) and mother of this child, and that she may not be molested in any way."

Lakshmi Bye addressed the governor-general in favour of the adoption. She argued, that the second article of the treaty was so peculiarly worded, as expressly to state the right of succession in perpetuity, either through *warrisan* (heirs of the body, or collateral heirs) or *joh nasheenan* (successors in general); which the widow interpreted as meaning, "that any party whom the rajah adopted as his son, to perform the funeral rites over his body necessary to ensure beatitude in a future world, would be acknowledged by the British government as his lawful heir, through whom the name and interests of the family might be preserved." She likewise pleaded, that the fidelity evinced by the Jhansi chiefs in past years, ought to be taken into consideration in coming to a final decision on the fate of the principality.†

Major Malcolm, the political agent for Gwalior, Bundelcund, and Rewah, in forwarding the above appeal, speaks of the first point as an open question for the decision of government; but with regard to the latter plea, he says—"The Bye (princess or lady) does not, I believe, in the slightest degree overrate the fidelity and loyalty all along evinced by the state of Jhansi, under circumstances of considerable temptation, before our power had arrived at the commanding position which it has since attained."‡ In a previous communication, the British agent wrote—"The widow of the late Gungadhur Rao, in whose hands he has expressed a wish that the government should be placed during her lifetime, is a woman highly respected and esteemed, and, I believe, fully capable of doing justice to such a charge." Major Ellis, the political assistant for Bundelcund, considered the particular question of the right of adoption in Jhansi as settled by the precedent established in the case of Oorcha; treaties of alliance and friendship existing with both states, and no difference being discernible in the terms, which could justify the withholding the privilege of adoption from the one after having allowed it to the other. Moreover, he considered that the general right of native states to make adoptions, had been clearly acknowledged and recorded by the directors.§

The governor-general, after having "carefully considered" the above statements, decided that Jhansi, having "lapsed to the British government, should be retained by it, in accordance equally with right and with sound policy." Measures were immediately taken for the transfer of the principality to the jurisdiction of the lieutenant-governor of the North-Western Provinces. The native institutions were demolished at a blow, all the establishments of the rajah's government were superseded, and the regular troops in the service of the state were immediately paid up and discharged.‖

The Gwalior contingent, and the 12th Bengal native infantry, were the troops chiefly employed by the British government in carrying through these unpopular measures; but reinforcements were held in readiness to overawe opposition. Employment such as this, on repeated occasions, was not calculated to increase the attachment of the sepoys to the foreign masters whom they served as mercenaries, in what many of them considered the confiscation of the rights and property of native royalty. If they had any latent patriotism, or any capacity for feeling it, nothing could have been more calculated to arouse or implant it than this ruthless system of absorption. Their sympathies would naturally be enlisted in favour of Lakshmi Bye, who fierce, relentless tigress as she has since appeared,

* This term is used to denominate cousins in the third and fourth degrees, tracing their descent in the male line to a common ancestor.—Jhansi Papers, p. 8.

† Letters from the Ranee.—Parl. Papers, pp. 14; 24.

‡ Jhansi Papers, pp. 14; 24, 25.

§ Major Ellis referred especially to a despatch from the Court of Directors, dated 27th March, 1839 (No. 9), for an explicit statement of their views on the subject of adoption.—Jhansi Papers, p. 16.

‖ *Ibid.*, p. 31.

was then venerated as a marvel of youth, ability, and discretion. "This lady," said Major Malcolm, "bears a very high character, and is much respected by every one in Jhansi;" and he urged especially (in the event of the annexation of the state), "that in compliance with her husband's last request, all the state jewels and private funds, and any balance remaining in the public treasury, after closing the accounts of the state, should also be considered as her private property."*

The governor-general replied, in general terms, that the property of the rajah would belong by law to his adopted son; because, the adoption, if legally made, was good for the conveyance of private rights, though not for the transfer of the principality. Thus the ranee was not only deprived of the regency, but was held to be cut off from other claims by the very means her dying husband had taken to ensure her future position. The first part of her history ends here. We have no account of the manner in which she bore her disappointment; but we know that she rose at the first signal of the mutiny, and that her name is now inseparably connected with thoughts of massacre and war. Her subsequent career does not, however, belong to this introductory chapter. The supreme council were by no means unanimous regarding the seizure of Jhansi. Messrs. Low and Halliday, while professing themselves convinced by Lord Dalhousie's reasoning on the legality of the annexation, stated, that they would have preferred the pursuance of a similar course towards Jhansi to that lately taken with regard to Kerowlee.

Now Kerowlee was a Rajpoot principality, the annexation of which was only prevented by the interference of the home government, on a threatened motion of the House of Commons.†

Indophilus (whose opinion on the subject is especially interesting, on account of his tendency towards the annexation policy in particular, and generally in favour of the Company) says, that Kerowlee had neither been so well governed, nor had entered into such an interesting relation with us, as Jhansi: but its rajah was descended from the Moon (Chandrabunsee); and some thousands of half-civilised relations and retainers were dependent for their social position and subsistence upon the continuance of the little state. He also died without children; but the native institutions of the state were suffered to continue, and the ruling chief has remained faithful to us during the insurrection. The larger Rajpoot states of Jeypoor, Joudpoor, Bikaneer, and others, have been also on our side. "The case of their Brother of the Moon was justly regarded by them as a test of our intentions towards them, and they were in some degree reassured by the result. There can be no doubt (adds Indophilus) that these small national states, which must be dependent upon the central government, and cannot, if treated with common fairness, combine against it, are an important element of the Indian system."

The Nawab of the Carnatic died in 1855, leaving no son. The claims of his paternal uncle, Azim Jah (who had been regent), were urged as entitling him, by Mohammedan law, to succeed to the musnud; but the decision was given against him, and the title of nawab placed "in abeyance," on the ground that the treaty by which the musnud of the Carnatic had been conferred on the nawab's predecessor, had been purely a personal one, and that both he and his family had disreputably abused the dignity of their position, and the large share of the public revenue which had been allotted to them.‡

Mr. Norton, an English barrister of the Madras bar, who had been present at the installation of the deceased nawab, and had resided at Madras throughout the whole of his occupation of the musnud, says, he was neither of bad parts nor of bad disposition; and had he been only moderately educated, his presence at Madras might have entailed great benefits upon the people, especially the Mussulman population. The nawab had been under the tutelage of the Company from his earliest infancy; and instead of superintending his moral and intellectual training, they gave him over "to the offices of panders and parasites, and left him to sink, from sheer neglect, into the life of sensuality and extravagance common to Eastern princes." He died suddenly, while still young; and Mr. Norton argues, that

* Letter of political agent (Malcolm), 16th March, 1854.—Parl. Papers on Jhansi, p. 28.

† *Quarterly Review*, July, 1858; article on "British India," p. 269.

‡ *Letters of Indophilus*, p. 11. Minute of Governor-general Dalhousie, 28th February, 1856. Return to order of House of Lords; printed 16th June, 1856; pp. 12, 13.

foolish and improvident as his conduct had been, he had committed no offences sufficiently heinous to justify the penalty inflicted on the family; adding, "we might just as reasonably have refused to allow the heirs of George IV. to succeed him, on account of his irregular habits and extravagance."

The same writer states, that Azim Jah, the rejected claimant of the musnud, had been on several occasions officially recognised, in writing, as the lawful heir.*

The titular Raj of Tanjore was abolished by alleged right of lapse on the death of its last rajah, Sevajee, in 1855. The resident, Mr. Forbes, pleaded strongly in behalf of the daughter of the deceased. He urged that Tanjore was not a conquered country; that its acquisition had not cost the life of a single soldier, nor the value of a single rupee; and that during fifty years' possession, a revenue of no less than twenty crores, or as many millions sterling, had been derived from it by the British government. After entreating favourable consideration for the daughter of a line of princes who, when their aid was needed, had always proved our firm allies—he sets forth another and very pertinent view of the case, declaring, that "it is impossible to doubt that the now prosperous condition of the country would be very greatly affected by the sudden withdrawal of a circulation amounting to about eleven lacs a-year. So great a diminution of the expenditure within the province, must certainly lead to a difficulty in realising the revenue: it is a small tract of land from which to raise fifty lacs a-year; and it cannot be a matter of indifference to the producers, whether more than a fifth of the revenue be spent among them or not."

Mr. Norton gives his personal testimony with regard to the unnecessary and impolitic harshness with which the extinction of the titular principality was accomplished. A company of sepoys was marched suddenly into the palace; the whole of the property, real and personal, was seized, and the Company's seals put upon all the jewels and other valuables. The soldiery were disarmed, and in the most offensive way. The private estate of the rajah's mother, of the estimated value of three lacs a-year, was sequestered, and has remained so. The occupier of every piece of land in the district, which had at any time belonged to a former rajah, was turned out of his possession, and ordered to come before the commissioner to establish a title to his satisfaction. The whole of the people dependent upon the expenditure of the raj revenue among them, were panic-struck at the prospect of being thrown out of employ; and, in a week, Tanjore, from the most contented place in our dominions, was converted into a hotbed of sullen disaffection. The people venerated the raj, and were indignant at its suppression: the very sepoys refused to receive their pensions.

According to Mr. Norton, the terms of the treaty promised the succession to "heirs" in general, and not exclusively to heirs male; but he considers the prior claim to be that of the senior widow, in preference to the daughter; and quotes a precedent in the history of the Tanjore dynasty, and many others in Hindoo history, including that of Malcolm's favourite heroine, Ahalya Bye, the exemplary queen of Indore.†

Kamachi Bye, the senior widow, intends contesting her claims to the raj, in England. She has filed a bill in the Supreme Court, for the recovery of the personal private estate of her late husband, and has obtained an injunction against the Company, to restrain them from parting with the property.‡

Passing over some minor absorptions, we arrive at the last and greatest of Lord Dalhousie's annexations—one which, both from its importance and special character, requires to be entered into at some length.

Oude, or *Ayodha*, was famous in ancient Hindoo lore as the kingdom of Dasaratha, the father of Rama, the hero of the famous epic the *Ramayana*. With the details of its fall as a Hindoo kingdom, and its history as a province of the Mogul empire, we are almost entirely unacquainted; but we know that it has retained its institutions to the present day, and that, in all respects, the Hindoo element largely predominates throughout Oude. The question of immediate interest is its connection by treaties with the East India Company, and the proceedings of its Mussulman rulers.

It has already been shown that their independence was founded on simple usurpation, having been obtained by taking advantage of the weakness of their rightful sovereigns, the Moguls of Delhi.§

Sadut Khan, nick-named the "Persian pedlar," the founder of the dynasty, was a

* Norton's *Rebellion in India*, pp. 98—107.
† *Indian Empire*, vol. i., p. 392.
‡ Norton's *Rebellion in India*, pp. 107—118.
§ *Indian Empire*, vol. i., p. 159.

merchant of Khorasan, who, by dint of ability and intrigue, eventually procured for himself the position of governor (or soubah, or nawab) of the province of Oude, together with that of vizier, which he held when Nadir Shah invaded India in 1738-'9.

The reigning emperor, Mohammed Shah, was powerless in the hands of his ambitious servants; their plots and peculations facilitated the progress of the invader; and their private quarrels incited the pillage and massacre which desolated Delhi. Sadut Khan was perpetually intriguing against his wily rival, the Nizam-ool-Moolk (or regulator of the state), "the old Deccani baboon," as the young courtiers called him; from whom the Nizams of the Deccan (Hyderabad) descended.

The death of Sadut Khan is said to have been indirectly caused by the Nizam.* It occurred before Nadir Shah quitted Delhi.† His son and successor, Sufdur Jung, was likewise able and unprincipled. The third of the dynasty was Shuja Dowlah,‡ who succeeded, in 1756, to the nawabship, which the weakness, not the will, of the Moguls of Delhi had suffered to become hereditary. The unfortunate emperor, Shah Alum, had indeed no worse enemy than his nominal servant, but really pitiless and grasping gaoler, the nawab-vizier of Oude.§ It was Shuja Dowlah who was conquered by the British troops in the battle of Buxar, in 1764; and with whom, in 1773, Warren Hastings concluded the infamous treaty of Benares, whereby the districts of Allahabad and Corah were, in defiance of the rights of Shah Alum, sold to the nawab-vizier; and British forces were hired out to the same rebellious subject, for the express purpose of enabling him to "annex" Rohilcund, and "exterminate"‖ the Rohilla chiefs, with whom we had no shadow of quarrel.

Immediately after the defeat and massacre of the Rohillas on the bloody field of Bareilly in 1774, Shuja Dowlah was seized with mortal sickness, and died after many months of agony. The cause was said to have been a wound inflicted by the daughter of Hafiz Rehmet, the principal Rohilla chief, who perished, sword in hand, at Bareilly. The unhappy girl had been captured; and when the nawab strove to add to the murder of the father the dishonour of his child, she stabbed him, and was immediately seized, and put to death. The wound inflicted by the unhappy girl was slight; but the dagger's point had been dipped in poison, which slowly and surely did its work.¶

The next nawab, Asuf-ad-Dowlah, was a weak and sensual youth, who had no strength of character to enable him to resist the evil counsels of unworthy favourites. The subsidiary troops at first obtained from the English for purposes of the most direct aggression, became a heavy drain on the resources of the misgoverned country. Warren Hastings saw, in his indolent neighbour, an instrument for increasing the dominions of the Company, and refilling their treasury; and then followed new treaties, new loans, new cementing of eternal friendships, and, lastly, the shameless plunder of the begums of Oude, which inflicted indelible disgrace alike on the nawab and the governor-general.**

The Marquis Cornwallis, in this as in other cases, took a very different view to that acted on by his predecessor. He saw the increasing disorganisation of Oude, and remonstrated forcibly with its ruler; who urged, in extenuation, the exactions of the Company, amounting, within a period of little more than nine years, to £2,300,000 sterling.†† The annual subsidy settled by treaty, had been raised, on one pretext or another, until it averaged eighty-four lacs per annum; and Warren Hastings himself acknowledged the "intolerable burden" which was inflicted upon the revenue and authority of the nawab-vizier, by the number, influence, and enormous amount of the salaries, pensions, and emoluments of the Company's service, civil and military; which called forth the envy and resentment of the whole

* *Indian Empire*, vol. i., p. 166. † *Ibid.*, p. 173.

‡ A memorandum on the Oude dynasty, drawn up by Fletcher Hayes, assistant-resident at Lucknow, is inserted in the Oude Blue Book of 1856. Shuja Dowlah is there described "as the infamous son of a still more infamous Persian pedlar," and as enjoying "the extensive province of Oude as a reward for a service of uncommon villanies." This and other statements are quoted on the authority of Ferishta, the famous Mohammedan annalist; but Mr. Hayes overlooks the fact, that Ferishta (or Mahomed Kasim) was born about the year 1570 during the reign of the emperor Akber, and was the cotemporary of the French traveller Bernier. It is therefore not the *Annals of Ferishta* which Mr. Hayes quotes from, but the continuation of them, known as Dow's *History of Hindoostan*, a work which, though honestly and ably written, occasionally records rumours of the day as historical facts.

§ *Indian Empire*, vol. i., p. 299.

‖ The word used in the treaty of Benares.—*Vide Indian Empire*, vol. i., p. 329.

¶ *Indian Empire*, vol. i., p. 330. ** *Ibid.*, p. 363.

†† Despatch of directors, 8th April, 1789.

country, by excluding the native servants and adherents of the vizier from the rewards of their services and attachment.*

Lord Cornwallis reduced the amount of tribute to fifty lacs; checked the interference, and curtailed the salaries and perquisites, of officials; and insisted on the disbandment of the temporary brigade, which had been subsidized by the vizier for so long a time only as he should require its services, but from the costly maintenance of which he had afterwards in vain sought relief.

The measures of the governor-general in favour of the Oude government were, unhappily, not attended by any corresponding internal reforms. Profligacy, incapacity, and corruption at court; tyranny, extortion, and strife among the semi-independent Hindoo chiefs; neglect and abject wretchedness among the mass, continued to prevail up to the death of Asuf-ad-Dowlah in 1797.

The succession was disputed between his brother Sadut Ali, and his son Vizier Ali, a youth of seventeen, of a disposition violent even to madness. The Calcutta government (of which Sir John Shore was then at the head) at first decided in favour of Vizier Ali; but clear proof of his illegitimacy, and consequent unfitness to succeed according to Mussulman law, being adduced, the decision was reversed in favour of Sadut Ali, who entered into a new treaty with the Company; by which he consented to surrender the fortress of Allahabad, to increase the annual subsidy, and to receive into his service the additional troops deemed necessary for the protection of Oude.

The Marquis Wellesley (then Lord Mornington) became governor-general in 1798; and his attention was at once drawn to the notorious misgovernment of Oude. The three brothers—the Marquis, Colonel Wellesley (the future duke), and Henry Wellesley (afterwards Lord Cowley)—discussed the subject publicly and privately; and the colonel drew up a memorandum on the subject, which, in fact, anticipates all that has since been said on the evils of subsidiary troops.

"By the first treaty with the nabobs of Oude, the Company were bound to assist the nabob with their troops, on the condition of receiving payment for their expenses. The adoption of this system of alliance is always to be attributed to the weakness of the state which receives the assistance, and the remedy generally aggravates the evil. It was usually attended by a stipulation that the subsidy should be paid in equal monthly instalments; and as this subsidy was generally the whole, or nearly the whole, disposable resource of the state, it was not easy to produce it at the moments at which it was stipulated. The tributary government was then reduced to borrow at usurious interest, to grant tuncaws upon the land for repayment, to take advances from aumildars, to sell the office of aumildar, and to adopt all the measures which it might be supposed distress on the one hand, and avarice and extortion on the other, could invent to procure the money necessary to provide for the payment of the stipulated subsidies.

"As soon as this alliance has been formed, it has invariably been discovered that the whole strength of the tributary government consisted in the aid afforded by its more powerful ally, or rather protector; and from that moment the respect, duty, and loyalty of its subjects have been weakened, and it has become more difficult to realise the resources of the state. To this evil must be added those of the same kind arising from oppression by aumildars, who have paid largely for their situations, and must remunerate themselves in the course of one year for what they have advanced from those holding tuncaws, and other claimants upon the soil on account of loans to government; and the result is, an increasing deficiency in the regular resources of the state.

"But these financial difficulties, created by weakness and increased by oppression, and which are attended by a long train of disorders throughout the country, must attract the attention of the protecting government, and then these last are obliged to interfere in the internal administration, in order to save the resources of the state, and to preclude the necessity of employing the troops in quelling internal rebellion and disorder, which were intended to resist the foreign enemy."†

Lord Wellesley was ambitious, and certainly desirous of augmenting, by all honourable means, the resources and extent of the dominion committed to his charge. He had, however, no shade of avarice in his composition, for himself or for the Company he served: all his plans were on a large scale—all his tendencies were magnificent and munificent. He saw that the Company, by their ostensible system of non-interference in the internal affairs of the nawab's government, and by the actual and almost inevitable exercise of authority therein for the restraint of intolerable acts of oppression and disorder, had created a double government, which was giving rise to the greatest extortion and confusion.

Successive governors-general had borne testimony to the absence of law, order, and justice throughout Oude, and had endeavoured to introduce remedial measures; which, however, had all produced a directly contrary effect to that for which they were

* Quoted in *Dacoitee in Excelsis; or, the Spoliation of Oude*, p. 28. London: Taylor.

† Memorandum on Oude.—*Wellington Supplementary Despatches;* edited by the present Duke. London: Murray, 1858.

designed, by complicating the involvements of the state, and increasing the extortions practised on the people by the aumildars and licentious native soldiery. These latter had become so perfectly mutinous and ungovernable, that Sadut Ali required the presence of British troops to secure him against the anticipated treachery of his own; and declared that, in the day of battle, he could not tell whether they would fight for or against him.

The consideration of these circumstances induced Lord Wellesley to frame a treaty, concluded in 1801, by which the nawab ceded one-half of his territories to the Company (including the districts now forming part of the North-Western Provinces, under the names of Rohilcund, Allahabad, Furruckabad, Mynpoorie, Etawa, Goruckpoor, Azimghur, Cawnpoor, and Futtehpoor), in return for a release from all arrears of subsidy, and for all expenses to be hereafter incurred in the protection of his country, which the Company bound themselves to defend in future, alike against foreign and domestic foes. They distinctly promised that no demand whatever should be made upon his territory, whether on account of military establishments; in the assembling of forces to repel the attack of a foreign enemy; on account of the detachment attached to the nawab's person; on account of troops which might be occasionally furnished for suppressing rebellions or disorders in his territories; nor on account of failures in the resources of the Ceded Districts, arising from unfavourable seasons, the calamities of war, or any other cause whatever.

The Company guaranteed to Sadut Ali, his heirs and successors, the possession of the reserved territories, together with the exercise of authority therein; and the nawab engaged to establish therein such a system of administration (to be carried into effect by his own officers) as should be conducive to the prosperity of his subjects, and calculated to secure their lives and property. He likewise bound himself to disband the chief part of the native troops; which he immediately did by reducing them from 80,000 to 30,000. The treaty of 1801 gave the nawab a certainty for an uncertainty; and restored to the remaining portion of Oude something of the vigour of an independent state. It would probably have done much more than this, had the Company confirmed the appointment of Henry Wellesley, by the governor-general, to superintend the working of the new arrangements, and assist in initiating and carrying out useful reforms. The ability, tact, and courtesy which he had manifested in the previous negotiations, had won the confidence of Sadut Ali; and, as the brother of the governor-general, Henry Wellesley might have exercised an influence beneficial to both parties, similar to that which contributed so largely to the tranquil settlement of Mysoor, under the auspices of Colonel Wellesley. But the directors would not sanction such a breach of the privileges of the covenanted service, and the appointment was cancelled. The papers of the late Lord Cowley, and the Wellesley MSS. in the British Museum, abound with evidence of judicious reformatory measures projected for Oude, but neutralised or set aside by the home government. While Sadut Ali lived the treaty worked well, although the manner in which he availed himself of the stipulated services of British troops, repeatedly made the Calcutta government sensible of the responsibility they had assumed, and the difficulty of reconciling the fulfilment of their engagements to the ruler, with a due regard to the rights and interests of his subjects.

The nawab conducted his affairs with much discretion and economy; and, on his death in 1814, he left fourteen millions sterling in a treasury which was empty when he entered on the government.

The partition of Oude was not, however, accomplished without bloodshed. The Hindoo landowners in the ceded country—who were, for the most part, feudal chieftains of far older standing than any Mussulman in India—resisted the proposed change, and were with difficulty subdued.* The fact was significant; and it would have been well had the subsequent annexators of Oude remembered, that the danger to be apprehended lay with the feudal and semi-independent chiefs, rather than with their sensual and effete suzerain.

Sadut Ali was succeeded by Ghazi-oo-deen, who is described by one authority as "indolent and debauched;"† and, by another, as bearing some resemblance to our James I.‡ He lent the Company two millions of the treasure accumulated by his predecessor, to assist them in carrying on their wars with

* *Indian Empire*, vol. i., p. 386.
† Sleeman's *Journey through Oude*, vol. ii., p. 192.
‡ Heber's *Journal*.

Burmah and Nepaul; and they gave him, in return, a share of their conquests; namely, the Turaee*—a fertile, richly-wooded, but unhealthy tract, which extends along the foot of the Himalayas; and sanctioned his assumption of regal dignity.

The acceptance of a loan, under the circumstances, was unworthy of a great government; and the confirmation of Ghazi-oo-deen's sovereignty was of doubtful policy. Complaints of misgovernment were rife, and appear to have been supported by forcible evidence. Bishop Heber, who travelled through Oude in 1824-'5, gave a more favourable account than other witnesses of the condition of the country; but his observations were necessarily cursory. He reasoned with Ghazi-oo-deen on the duty of attending to the condition of the people; and "the reply was, that he was powerless, having lent to the British government all the money which would have enabled him to ease his subjects of their burdens." Had the money remained in the Oude treasury, it is highly improbable that it would have benefited the people, except, indeed, indirectly, through the reckless expenditure of an unscrupulous minister, and a most unworthy set of favourites. Still, it is painful to learn that English governors should have exposed themselves to such a reproach, or should have acknowledged a loan from a dependent prince, in such a strain of fulsome and profane flattery as that in which Lord Amherst invokes the blessing of the Almighty on "the Mine of Munificence;" and declares, that "the benefits and fruits of our amity, which have existed from days of yore, are impressed upon the heart of every Englishman, both here and in Europe, as indelibly as if they had been engraven on adamant; nor will lapse of time, or change of circumstance, efface from the British nation so irrefragable a proof, so irresistible an argument, of the fraternal sentiments of your majesty."†

Nevertheless, the internal management of the "Mine of Munificence" was far from satisfactory, and the resident was officially reminded (July 22nd, 1825), that "by the treaty of 1801, the British government is clearly entitled, as well as morally obliged, to satisfy itself by whatever means it may deem necessary; that the aid of its troops is required in support of right and justice, and not to effectuate injustice and oppression." In conformity with these instructions, the resident, and the officers commanding troops employed in the king's service, exercised a scrutiny which became extremely distasteful; and the treaty was violated by the increase of the native force (which was available, unchallenged, for any purpose, and afforded emolument and patronage to the native ministers and favourites), until, within the last few years of the reign of Ghazi-oo-deen, it comprised about sixty thousand men.

Nuseer-oo-deen, the son of Ghazi, succeeded him on the musnud in 1827. This is the "Eastern king" whose private life has been gibbeted to deserved infamy, in a sort of biographical romance‡ written by a European adventurer, for some time member of the royal household (as librarian or portrait-painter.) Recollecting the scandalous scenes revealed by contemporary diaries and memoirs regarding our nominally Christian kings—the Merry Monarch, and Nuseer's contemporary, the Fourth George—we need not be too much surprised by the mad vagaries and drunken cruelties of the Moslem despot, who prided himself on his adoption of certain English habits and customs§—such as wearing broadcloth and a beaver hat under the burning sun of Oude; and usually terminated his daily drinking bouts with his boon companions, under the table, after the most approved English fashion. The favourite, shortly before the death of Nuseer, was a barber from Calcutta, who had come out to India in the capacity of a cabin-boy, and from that became a river trader. Hair-dressing, however, continued to be a lucrative resource to him: the natural curls of the governor-general were widely imitated; and when the barber went on his other affairs to Lucknow, he was employed in his old vocation by the resident. The king, delighted with the change produced in the appearance of this powerful English functionary, tried a similar experiment on his own lank locks, and was so gratified by the result, that he appointed the lucky *coiffeur* to a permanent post in his house-

* *Indian Empire*, vol. i., p. 413.

† Letters of Lord Amherst to the King of Oude, October 14th, 1825; and June 23rd, 1826. Quoted in *Ducoitee in Excelsis; or, the Spoliation of Oude:* pp. 68—70.

‡ *Private Life of an Eastern King;* by a member of the household of his late majesty, Nuseer-oo-deen, King of Oude. London, 1855.

§ Nuseer substituted a chair of gold and ivory for the musnud, or cushion, of his ancestors.

hold, with the style of Sofraz Khan (the illustrious chief), and gave him a seat at his table. The barber had a fund of low humour: he amused the king by pandering to his vitiated taste; and soon made himself indispensable. The existence of Nuseer-oo-deen was embittered by a well-grounded suspicion of treachery among his own family and household: the fear of poison was continually present with him; and he would touch no wine but that placed before him by his new favourite, who consequently added the office of wine-merchant to his other lucrative monopolies.

The European papers learned something of what was passing at the palace of Lucknow, despite the care which the European adventurers installed there, naturally took to keep things quiet. The *Calcutta Review*, and *Agra Ukbar*, published squibs and pasquinades upon the "low menial" who had ingratiated himself with the King of Oude; but the object of their jeers set them at nought, and continued to accumulate wealth, and to retain his influence at court by ever-new inventions of buffoonery and indecency, until the European members of the household threw up their appointments in uncontrollable disgust; and such scenes of open debauchery disgraced the streets of Lucknow at midday, that the resident, Colonel Low, was compelled to interfere, and at length succeeded in procuring the dismissal of the barber.*

These and other statements of the anonymous memoir-writer, are quite compatible, and, indeed, frequently correspond with the entries in the journal of Sir William Sleeman, of accounts furnished by natives of the character and habits of Nuseer-oo-deen.

Both writers dwell much on the repeated declaration of the king that he should be poisoned; and Sir William states, that for some time before his death, Nuseer wore constantly round his neck a chain, to which was attached the key of a small covered well in the palace, whence he drew water. His death was very sudden. It occurred shortly after a glass of sherbet had been administered to him by one of the women of his harem, in the night of the 7th of July, 1837.

The question of succession was stormily contested. The king had had several wives, whose history forms a not very edifying episode in Sir William Sleeman's journal. The most reputable one was a grand-daughter of the King of Delhi—a very beautiful young woman, of exemplary character; who, unable to endure the profligacy of the court, quitted it soon after her marriage, and retired into private life, on a small stipend granted by her profligate husband. Then there was Mokuddera Ouleea, originally a Miss Walters, the illegitimate daughter of a half-pay officer of one of the regiments of British dragoons, by a Mrs. Whearty, a woman of notoriously bad character, although the daughter of one English merchant, and the widow of another. She was married to the king in 1827, and was seen by Mrs. Park, in her visit to the zenana in 1828, sitting silently on the same couch with her successful rival, the beautiful Taj Mahal.†

Mulika Zamanee (Queen of the Age) entered the palace of Lucknow while Nuseer-oo-deen was only heir-apparent, in the capacity of wet-nurse to his infant son, Moonna Jan (by another wife called Afzul-Mahal); and so fascinated the father, that, to the astonishment of the whole court (in whose eyes the new-comer appeared very plain and very vulgar), he never rested until she became his acknowledged wife. Her former husband (a groom in the service of one of the king's troopers, to whom she had previously been faithless) presumed to approach the palace, and was immediately thrown into prison; but was eventually released, and died soon after the accession of Nuseer. Her two children, a boy and girl, were adopted by Nuseer; who, when he became king, declared the boy, Kywan Jah, to be his own son, and publicly treated him as such.

When Viscount Combermere visited Lucknow in 1827, in the course of his tour of inspection as commander-in-chief, Kywan Jah was sent, as heir-apparent, with a large retinue and a military escort, to meet his lordship and attend him from Cawnpoor. The king was, no doubt, desirous to propitiate his guest. He came outside the city to welcome him, invited him to share the royal howdah on the state elephant, and escorted him to the palace in full procession, flinging, meantime, handfuls of coin among the multitude who accompanied the cavalcade.

The Orientals dearly love pageantry; it would seem as if it reconciled them to des-

* The barber carried off £240,000.—*Private Life of an Eastern King*, p. 330.

† Mrs. Park's *Wanderings*, vol. i., p. 87.

potism: and the present occasion must have been an interesting one; for the externals of royalty sat gracefully on the handsome person of the sensual and extravagant Nuseer-oo-deen; and the British general, besides being in the zenith of his fame as the conqueror of Bhurtpoor (which had successfully resisted the British troops under Lord Lake), had a manly bearing, and a rare gift of skilful horsemanship—befitting the soldier pronounced by the great Duke the best cavalry officer in the service—united to an easy, genial courtesy of manner, calculated to gain popularity everywhere, but especially in India.

Lord Combermere occupied the residency for a week, during which time, a succession of hunts, sports, and *fêtes* took place, which formed an era in the annals of Lucknow. Nuseer-oo-deen was, in turn, sumptuously entertained by the commander-in-chief; to whom, on parting, he gave his own portrait, set in magnificent diamonds. The Company appropriated the diamonds; but the picture remains in the possession of Lord Combermere, and is an interesting relic of the fallen dynasty of Oude.

Nuseer-oo-deen subsequently demanded from the resident the formal recognition of Kywan Jah, as his heir-apparent, by the British government. The resident demurred, on the plea that the universal belief at Lucknow was, that Kywan Jah was three years of age when his mother was first introduced to his majesty. But this had no effect: Nuseer-oo-deen persisted in his demand; and, to remove the anticipated obstacle, he repudiated Moonna Jan publicly and repeatedly.* The consequence of his duplicity was, that he was held to have left no legitimate son. According to Sir William Sleeman (who, during his situation as resident, had abundant means of authentic information), the general impression at Lucknow and all over Oude was, that the British government would take upon itself the management of the country on the death of the king, who himself "seemed rather pleased than otherwise" at the thought of being the last of his dynasty. He had repudiated his own son, and was unwilling that any other member of the family should fill his place. The ministers, and the other public officers and court favourites, who had made large fortunes, were favourable to the anticipated measure; as it was understood by some, that thereby they would be secured from all scrutiny into their accounts, and enabled to retain all their accumulations.†

The reader—recollecting the custom in Mussulman kingdoms, of a complete change of officials at every accession, generally accompanied by the spoliation of the old ones—will understand this was likely to prove no inconsiderable advantage. Lord Auckland, the governor-general, had, however, no desire for the absorption of Oude, but only that measures should be taken for its better government. He decided that the eldest uncle of the late king should ascend the musnud, and that a new treaty should be formed with him.

On the death of Nuseer-oo-deen, a British detachment was sent to escort the chosen successor from his private dwelling to the palace. He was an old man, had led a secluded life, and was weakened by recent illness. On arriving at his destination, he was left to repose for a few hours in a small secluded room, previous to the tedious formalities of enthronement. But the succession was not destined to be carried without opposition. The Padshah Begum (the chief queen of Ghazi-oo-deen, and the adoptive mother of Nuseer, with whom she had been long at variance) asserted the claims of her grandson, the disowned child but rightful heir of the late ruler. She made her way to the palace in the middle of the night, on the plea of desiring to see the dead body of the king—forced the gates with her elephants, and carried in with her the youth Moonna Jan, whom she succeeded in literally seating on the musnud; while she herself took up her position in a covered palanquin at the foot of the throne. Amid the confusion, the sovereign selected by the Company remained unnoticed, and apparently unknown. His sons, grandsons, and attendants were, however, discovered, and very roughly treated; nor did the resident (Colonel Low) escape severe handling. On learning what had occurred, he proceeded to the palace with his assistants, and remonstrated with the begum on the folly of her proceedure; but his arguments were stopped by the turbulence of her adherents, who seized him by the neckcloth, dragged him to the throne on which the boy sat, and commanded him to present a complimentary offering on pain of death. This he positively refused; and the begum's vakeel, Mirza Ali, seeing the dangerous excitement of her rabble followers, and dreading the

* Sleeman's *Oude*, vol. ii., p. 40.

† Sleeman's *Oude*, vol. ii., p. 152.

sure vengeance of the Company if the lives of their servants were thus sacrificed, laid hold of the resident and his companions, and shouted out, that by the command of the begum they were to be conducted from her presence. The resident and his party, with difficulty and danger, made their way to the south garden, where Colonel Monteath had just brought in, and drawn up, five companies in line. The temper of the troops, generally, seemed doubtful. At this crisis Colonel Roberts, who commanded a brigade in the Oude service, went in, and presented to Moonna Jan his offering of gold mohurs; and then absconded, being seen no more until the contest was decided. Captain Magness drew up his men and guns on the left of Colonel Monteath's, and was ordered to prepare for action. He told the resident that he did not feel quite sure of his men; and a line of British sepoys was made to cover his rear.*

Meanwhile the begum began to think the game in her own hands. The palace and *baraduree*, or summer-house, were filled with a motley crowd; nautch-girls danced and sang at one end of the long hall, in front of the throne; and the populace within and without enjoyed the tumult, and shouted acclamation: every man who had a sword or spear, a musket or matchlock, flourished it in the air, amid a thousand torches. Everything portended a popular insurrection. The begum saw this, and desired to gain time, in the hope that the British troops in the garden would be surrounded and overwhelmed by the armed masses which had begun to pour forth from the city. Had this catastrophe occurred, the British authorities would have borne the blame for the deficiency of the subsidized British troops, and for having indiscreetly omitted to watch the proceedings of the Padshah Begum, whose character was well known. The fault, in the latter case, is attributed to the negligence of the native minister.

The resident was anxious to avoid a collision; yet convinced of the necessity for prompt action: therefore, on receiving a message from the begum, desiring him to return to her presence, he refused, and bade her and the boy surrender themselves immediately; promising, in the event of compliance, and of the evacuation of the palace and city by her followers, that the past should be forgiven, and that the pension of 15,000 rupees a-month, accorded by the late king, should be secured to her for life. But in vain: the begum had no thought of surrendering herself; the tumult rapidly increased; the rabble began to plunder the palace; several houses in the city had already been pillaged; and the British officer in command urged the resident to action, lest his men should no longer have room to use their arms.

The native commanders of the state troops manifestly leant towards the begum. One of them declared that "he was the servant of the throne; that the young king was actually seated on it; and that he would support him there:" whereupon he also presented his offering of gold mohurs. The armed crowds grew momentarily more menacing: a ringleader attempted to seize a British sepoy by the whiskers; and an affray was with difficulty prevented. The resident, taking out his watch, declared, that unless the begum consented to his offer within one quarter of an hour, the guns should open on the throne-room. She persisted in her purpose, encouraged by the increasing numbers of her followers. The stated time elapsed; the threat of the resident was fulfilled; and, after a few rounds of grape, a party of the 35th regiment, under Major Marshall, stormed the halls.

As soon as the guns opened, the begum was carried by her attendants into an adjoining room; and Moonna Jan concealed himself in a recess under the throne. They were, however, both captured, and carried off to the residency. None of the British troops were killed; but one officer and two or three sepoys were wounded. Many of the insurgents perished; from forty to fifty men being left killed and wounded, when their companions fled from the palace. The loss would probably have been much greater, had not the soldiers of the 35th, on rushing through the narrow covered passage, and up the steep flight of steps by which they entered the throne-room, seen, on emerging from the dim light, a body of sepoys with fixed bayonets and muskets, drawn up (as they imagined) behind the throne. At these they fired; a smash of glass followed, and proved their first volley to have been spent, on their own reflection, in an immense mirror. This happy mistake saved a needless waste of blood. No further resistance was attempted; order was gradually restored; and the sovereign selected

* Sleeman's *Oude*, vol. ii., p. 162.

by the Company was publicly crowned in the course of the morning.

Strangely enough, the innocent and ill-used Delhi princess, after years of seclusion, was involved in the tumult, but escaped injury by the zeal and presence of mind of her female attendants. The begum, on her way from her own residence to the palace, had passed that of the princess, whom she summoned to accompany her. Perhaps awed by her imperious mother-in-law—perhaps desirous of looking once again on the face of the man whose conduct had doomed her to long years of widowhood, the princess obeyed, and appears to have been a silent witness of the whole affair. When the firing began, her two female bearers carried her in her litter to a small side-room. One attendant had her arm shattered by grapeshot; but the other tied some clothes together, and let her mistress and her wounded companion safely down, from a height of about twenty-four feet, into a courtyard, where some of the retinue of the princess found and conveyed them all three safely home.

The claim of Moonna Jan appears to have been a rightful one, despite the formal declaration of the late king, that he had ceased to cohabit with the boy's mother for two years before his birth. The decision arrived at by the British government cannot, however, be regretted; for Moonna Jan was said, even by the members of his own family who asserted his legitimacy, to be of ungovernable temper, and the worst possible dispositions.* Both he and the begum† were sent to the fort of Chunar, where they ended their days as state prisoners.

The new king, Mohammed Ali Shah, succeeded to an empty treasury and a disorganised government: he had the infirmities of age to contend with; nevertheless, he displayed an amount of energy and shrewdness very rare in his family.

A new treaty with Oude was alleged to be necessary, because no penalty had been attached, in that of 1801, to the infraction of the stipulation for reforms to be made in the government. Another article had been violated by the increase of the native army greatly beyond the stated limit. Of this latter infraction the British government were well disposed to take advantage, having, in fact, themselves violated the spirit, if not the letter, of the treaty, by keeping Oude very ill supplied with troops. Thus, at the time of the death of Nuseer-oo-deen (previous to the arrival of the five companies under Colonel Monteath), the whole of the British force in charge of Lucknow and its million inhabitants, consisted of two companies and a-half of sepoys under native officers. One of the companies was stationed at the treasury of the resident; another constituted his honorary guard; and the remaining half company were in charge of the gaol. All the sepoys stood nobly to their posts during the long and trying scene; but no attempt was made to concentrate them for the purpose of arresting the tumultuous advance of the begum's forces: collectively, they would have been too few for the purpose; and it was, moreover, deemed unsafe to remove them from their respective posts at such a time.‡

Something more than tacit consent had probably been given to the increase of the native force of Oude; which, in 1837, numbered about 68,000 men. By the new treaty, Mohammed Ali was authorised to increase his military establishment indefinitely; but bound to organise, as a part of it, an auxiliary British force, and to provide a yearly sum of sixteen lacs (£160,000) for the maintenance of the same. The concluding articles stipulated, that the king, in concert with the resident, should take into immediate and earnest consideration the best means of remedying the existing defects in the police, and in the judicial and revenue administration of his dominions; and set forth, that "if gross and systematic oppression, anarchy, and misrule should hereafter at any time prevail within the Oude dominions, such as seriously to endanger the public tranquillity, the British government reserves to itself the right of appointing its own officers to the management of whatsoever portions of the Oude

* Sleeman's *Oude*, vol. ii., p. 170.

† The previous history of the begum appears to have been very remarkable. Ghazi-oo-deen had conceived a strong dislike to his son Nuseer, and considered him utterly unfit to mount the throne. The begum stanchly and successfully asserted his rights, as her husband's lawful heir. When he, in turn, conceived a violent aversion to his own child Moonna Jan, she took her grandson under her protection, armed her retainers, and, after a contest in which many lives were lost, succeeded in maintaining her ground until the resident interfered, and satisfied her by guaranteeing the personal safety of the boy, for whose sake she eventually sacrificed the independence of her latter years, and died a prisoner of state.—*Private Life of an Eastern King*, p. 205.

‡ Sleeman's *Oude*, vol. ii., p. 168.

territory—either to a small or to a great extent—in which such misrule as that above alluded to may have occurred, for so long a period as it may deem necessary; the surplus receipts in such case, after defraying all charges, to be paid into the king's treasury, and a true and faithful account rendered to his majesty of the receipts and expenditure of the territory so assumed." In the event of the above measure becoming necessary, a pledge was given for the maintenance, as far as possible, of the native institutions and forms of administration within the assumed territories, so as to facilitate the restoration of those territories to the sovereign of Oude when the proper period for such restoration should arrive.*

The above treaty was executed at Lucknow on the 11th of September, 1837, and was ratified on the 18th of the same month by the governor-general. It is necessary that the manner in which the compliance of Mohammed Shah was ensured, should be clearly understood. The death of Nuseer occurred at midnight, and the resident, as has been stated, instantly sent off one of his assistants to the house of Mohammed Shah, with orders to conduct him to the palace, after having secured his signature to a paper promising consent "to any new treaty that the governor-general might dictate." This was obtained.

Lord Auckland was rather shocked by such undisguised dictation; and declared, "he should have been better pleased if the resident had not, in this moment of exigency, *accepted* the unconditional engagement of submissiveness which the new king had signed. This document may be liable to misconstruction; and it was not warranted by anything contained in the instructions issued to Colonel Low."†

If Lord Auckland was startled by the means taken to ensure the consent of the king to any terms which might be required from him, the resident was not less painfully surprised by the draft treaty framed by the governor-general in council. Colonel Low wrote, that the concessions so unexpectedly demanded, were "of a nature that would be very grating to any native sovereign of respectable character;" especially to the present king, "who, to the best of my belief at least, knows by experience how to manage a country properly, and really wishes to govern with moderation and justice." The resident especially deprecated the requisition for the payment of a very large annual sum for the maintenance of an army, which was not to be under the command of the king, or even at his own disposal—"a heavy payment, in fact, which he must clearly perceive is more for our own purposes and interests than for his, or for the direct advantage of his subjects." Colonel Low requested a reconsideration of the unfavourable opinion which had been expressed regarding the preliminary pledge he had exacted from Mohammed Ali, declaring, that so far from its being superfluous, it was indispensable; otherwise, the "desired objects of the Indian government could never have been gained without some forcible and most unpleasant exercise of our power." In a significant postscript, he asked whether, in the event of the present king's death before the ratification of the treaty, he ought to take any, and, if so, what, agreement from the next heir? adding, that the residency surgeon lately in attendance on Mohammed Shah, was decidedly of opinion, that "any unusual excitement, or vexation of mind, would be likely to bring on apoplexy."‡ All this the resident stated in a public letter; but he wrote another in the secret department, in which he earnestly advised a revision of the treaty; urging, that the formation of the proposed auxiliary force would create great discontent in Oude, and inflict a burden which would necessarily be felt by all classes; and that it would be considered "as distinctly breaking our national faith and recorded stipulations in the former treaty."§

Lord Auckland persisted in his policy: the resident was told that he had "misapprehended" the spirit of the treaty, which the king was compelled to sign, literally at the hazard of his life; for, on being made acquainted with its terms, "the idea of such new rights being ordered in his time, so hurt the old man's feelings, that it had an immediate effect on his disease;" producing an attack of spasms, from which he did not entirely recover for twenty-four hours.‖

The authorities in England, to their honour be it spoken, refused to sanction such a shameless breach of faith as this repudiation of the terms on which half Oude had been annexed in 1801. They unanimously de-

* Treaty between E. I. Company and King of Oude: printed in Parl. Papers relating to Oude (Commons), 20th July, 1857; pp. 31—33.

† Parl. Papers, p. 13. ‡ *Ibid.*,—pp. 14, 15.
§ *Ibid.*, p. 17.
‖ Letter of Resident, July 30, 1837.—Parl. Papers.

creed the abrogation of the recent treaty, and desired that the king should be exonerated from the obligations to which his assent had been so reluctantly given. Nothing could be more thoroughly straightforward than the view taken by the directors. They declared, that it would have been better to have given the king a fair trial, without any new treaty; and condemned the preliminary engagement as having been "extorted from a prince from whom we had no right to demand any condition on coming to his lawful throne." The proposed auxiliary force was pronounced inadmissible, on the ground that the payment "would constitute a demand upon the resources of Oude that we are not entitled to make; for we are already bound, by the treaty of 1801, to defend at our own expense, that country against internal and external enemies; and a large cession of territory was made to us for that express purpose."

The sentiments expressed on this occasion are directly opposed to those which animated the annexation policy, subsequently adopted. The directors conclude their despatch with the following explicit opinion:—"The preservation of the existing states in India is a duty imposed upon us by the obligations of public faith, as well as the dictates of interest; for we agree in the opinion expressed by Lieutenant-colonel Low, in his letter of the 26th of September, 1836, that the continued existence of such states will afford the means of employment to respectable natives, which they cannot at present obtain in our service; and, until such means could be provided in our own provinces, the downfall of any of the native states under our protection might, by depriving numerous influential natives of their accustomed employment, be attended with consequences most injurious to our interests. Our policy should be to preserve, as long as may be practicable, the existing native dynasties; and should the fall of them, or of any one of them, from circumstances beyond our control, become inevitable, then to introduce such a system of government as may interfere in the least possible way with the institutions of the people, and with the employment of natives of rank under proper superintendence, in the administration of the country."*

The directors left the governor-general in council to choose the manner in which to convey to the King of Oude the welcome tidings of the annulment of a compact which, they truly observed, he regarded as inflicting not only a pecuniary penalty upon his subjects, but a disgrace upon his crown and personal dignity. They advised, however, that it should rather proceed as an act of grace from his lordship in council, "than as the consequence of the receipt of a public and unconditional instruction from England."

Lord Auckland thereupon declared, that the directors, like the resident, had much misunderstood his measure;† and his council agreed with him in the hope that, by a relaxation of the terms of the treaty, the authorities in England might be reconciled to a measure which could not be cancelled without the most serious inconvenience, and even danger:‡ and when they found that the Company were pledged to the British parliament for the annulment of the treaty, they persisted in urging the inexpediency of making any communication to the King of Oude on the subject. On the 15th of April, 1839, the directors reiterated their previous orders, and desired that no delay should take place in announcing, in such manner as the governor-general might think fit, to the King of Oude, the disallowance of the treaty of 11th of September, 1837, and the restoration of our relations with the state of Oude to the footing on which they previously stood.

On the 11th of July, 1839, they simply reverted to their previous instructions, and required their complete fulfilment.§ Yet, on the 8th of the same month, the governor-general acquainted the King of Oude that, after some months' correspondence with the Court of Directors upon the subject of the treaty, he was empowered to relieve his majesty from the payment of the annual sixteen lacs. His lordship expressed his cordial sympathy with the liberal feelings which dictated this renunciation of a sum, the raising of which he had "sometimes feared" might lead to "heavier exactions on the people of Oude than they were well able, in the present state of the country, to bear."

Then followed an exordium on the lightening of taxation, and the extension of

* Despatch, 10th April, 1838, from Secret Committee; p. 38. Signed by J. R. Carnac and J. L. Lushington.

† Minute by Governor-general Auckland, dated "Umritsir, 13th December, 1838."—Parl. Papers, pp. 43—52.

‡ Minutes by Messrs. Morison and Bird, 28th January, 1839; pp. 52; 57. § Parl. Papers, pp. 57—60.

useful public works, which might be effected with the aforesaid sixteen lacs; and a complacent reference to the fresh proof thus afforded, "of the friendship with which your majesty is regarded by me and by the British nation." Not one word, not the most distant hint of the abrogation of the treaty; nay, more—the newly-appointed resident, Colonel Caulfield, was specially desired "to abstain from encouraging discussion as to the treaty of 1837," except as regarded the reasons above quoted from the letter of the governor-general, for releasing the king from the pecuniary obligation of maintaining an auxiliary force.*

The above statements are taken from the returns laid before parliament on the motion of Sir Fitzroy Kelly; but it is confidently alleged that the papers therein published are, as in the case of the Nizam, fragmentary and garbled; especially that the important letter written by Lord Auckland to the King of Oude is not a correct translation of the original, but a version adapted to meet the ideas of the British public.†

No such aggravation is needed to enhance the effect of the duplicity exhibited by the Indian government, in their sifted and carefully prepared records laid before parliament, of the mode in which the king was led to believe that the treaty which the Court of Directors had disavowed, because it was essentially unjust and had been obtained by unfair means, was really in force, the pressure being temporarily mitigated by the generous intervention and paternal solicitude of the governor-general.

This is a painful specimen of Anglo-Indian diplomacy. Still more painful is it to find such a man as Lord Dalhousie characterising the deliberate concealment practised by his predecessor, as "an inadvertence." The treaty was never disallowed in India—never even suppressed. The discussion regarding its public disallowance seems to have fallen to the ground; the directors, engrossed by the cares and excitements of that monstrous compound of injustice, folly, and disaster—the Afghan war—probably taking it for granted that their reiterated injunctions regarding Oude had been obeyed by Lord Auckland and his council.

Mohammed Ali Shah died in 1842, in the full belief that the treaty which so galled and grieved him was in operative existence. His son and successor, Amjud Ali, had no reason for doubt on the subject: the British functionaries around him spoke and wrote of it as an accepted fact; and, in 1845, it was included in a volume of treaties, published in India by the authority of government. No important change, for good or for evil, appears to have taken place during the five years' sway of Amjud Ali, who died in February, 1847, and was succeeded by Wajid Ali, the last of his dynasty. The new king was not deficient in natural ability. He had considerable poetical and musical gifts; but these, precociously developed under the enervating influences of the zenana, had been fostered to the exclusion of the sterner qualities indispensable to the wielder of a despotic sceptre.

Notwithstanding the acknowledged and often sharply-exercised supremacy of the British government, the dynasty of Oude still preserved, by virtue of Lord Wellesley's treaty of 1801 (that is to say, by the portions of it not cancelled by that of 1837), a degree of independence, and of exemption from internal interference; which, rightly used by an upright, humane, and judicious sovereign, might yet have raised fertile, beautiful Oude to a state of prosperity which, by affording incontestable proofs of its efficient government, should leave no plea for its annexation. Public works, efficient courts of justice, reduced rates of assessment—these things can never be wholly misrepresented

* Deputy Secretary of Government to the Resident, 8th July, 1839.—Parl. Papers, p. 61.

† The letter published in the Parl. Papers, and the Persian and English versions sent to the king: all three differed on important points. In *Dacoitee in Excelsis* (written, according to the editor of Sleeman's *Oude*, by Major Bird), a literal translation of the Persian letter actually sent to the King of Oude is given, which differs widely and essentially from that above quoted from the Parl. Papers. In the latter there is no sentence which could fairly be rendered thus:—"From the period you ascended the throne, your majesty has, in comparison with times past, greatly improved the kingdom; and I have, in consequence, been authorised by the Court of Directors to inform you, that, *if I think it advisable, for the present, I may* relieve your majesty from part of the clause of the treaty alluded to, by which clause expense is laid upon your majesty." The writer of *Dacoitee in Excelsis*, says that the italicised words bear a different sense in the autograph English letter, in which they run thus:—*I am directed to relieve you.* The king pointed out the non-agreement of the two documents, and the governor-general forthwith issued an order, directing that the old custom of sending the original English letter as well as the Persian version, should be discontinued.—(p. 92.) See also *Oude, its Princes and its Government Vindicated:* by Moulvee Musseehood-deen Khan Bahadoor; p. 75.

or overlooked; but such reforms were little likely to be effected while Wajid Ali sat at the helm.

In November, 1847, the governor-general, Lord Hardinge, visited Lucknow, held a conference with the king, and caused a memorandum, previously drawn up, to be specially read and explained to him. In this memorandum, Wajid Ali was enjoined "to take timely measures for the reformation of abuses," and for "the rescue of his people from their present miserable condition." Failing this, the governor-general stated, he would have no option but to act in the manner specified by the treaty of 1837; which not only gave the British government a right to interfere, but rendered it obligatory on them to do so whenever such interference should be needful to secure the lives and property of the people of Oude from oppression and flagrant neglect. If the king, within the following two years, should fail in "checking and eradicating the worst abuses," then the governor-general would avail himself of the powers vested in him by the aforesaid treaty.*

Two years and more passed, but the king evinced undiminished aversion for the duties of his position. His time and attention were devoted entirely to the pursuit of personal gratifications, and he associated with none but such as contributed to his pleasures—women, singers, fiddlers, and eunuchs; and could, in fact, submit to the restraints of no other society. He ceased to receive the members of the royal family, or the aristocracy; would read no reports from his local officers, civil or military—from presidents of his fiscal and judicial courts, or functionaries of any kind; and appeared to take no interest whatever in public affairs.

A change was made about this time in the mode of collecting the land revenue (from the *ijara*, or contract system, to the *amanee*, or trust-management system) in many districts; but no favourable result was produced—the same rack-rent being exacted under one as under the other; the same uncertainty continuing to exist in the rate of the government demand; and the same exactions and peculations on the part of the native officials.

Colonel (afterwards Sir William) Sleeman received the appointment of resident in 1849, and was authorised by Lord Dalhousie to make a tour throughout Oude, and report upon the general condition of the people. The letter which communicates the information of the appointment, shows that the governor-general was bent on the assumption of sovereign power over Oude, and the reconstruction of the internal administration of that "great, rich, and oppressed country."† The mission of Colonel Sleeman was evidently designed to collect a mass of evidence which should convince the home authorities of the necessity for the "great changes" which their representative had resolved upon initiating; and in this sense the new resident has been truly called "the emissary of a foregone conclusion."‡ Still, though not unprejudiced, Colonel Sleeman was an honest and earnest man, well calculated by character and long training to extract truth, and experienced in framing a plain, unvarnished statement of facts. Forty years of active Indian service had afforded him opportunities of intercourse with the natives, of which he had taken abundant advantage. Active, methodical, and rigidly abstemious, he had been invaluable in the very departments where his countrymen have usually proved least able to grapple with the enervating influences of climate, routine, and red tape.§ His successful efforts in bringing to justice, and almost eradicating the murderous fraternity of the Thugs,‖ by dispersing the horrible obscurity in which their midnight deeds of assassination and theft had been so long shrouded, breaking up their gangs, and tracking them out in detail, was altogether most masterly, and conferred an incalculable amount of benefit on the peaceable and industrious, but helpless portion of the population. Colonel Sleeman's character and career, however,

* Sleeman's *Oude*, vol. ii., pp. 201—215.

† Letter from Lord Dalhousie to Colonel Sleeman.—*Journey through the Kingdom of Oude* (Introduction), vol. i., p. xviii.

‡ *Dacoitee in Excelsis*, p. 109.

§ Writing to Mr. Elliot, secretary to government in 1848, regarding the difficulty of getting dacoit prisoners tried, Colonel Sleeman said that political officers had little encouragement to undertake such duties; adding—"It is only a few choice spirits that have entered upon the duty *con amore*. General Nott prided himself upon doing nothing while he was at Lucknow; General Pollock did all he could, but it was not much; and Colonel Richmond does nothing. There the Buduk dacoits, Thugs and poisoners, remain without sentences, and will do so till Richmond goes, unless you give him a fillip. * * * Davidson was prevented from doing any thing by technical difficulties; so that out of four residents we have not got four days' work.—*Journey through the Kingdom of Oude* (Introduction), vol. i., p. xxviii.

‖ See *Indian Empire*, vol. i., p. 429; for an account of the Thugs, or Phansi-gars.

naturally tended to render him a severe censor of incapacity, sensuality, and indolence—the besetting sins of the King of Oude. Consequently, his correspondence manifests a contemptuous aversion for the habits and associates of Wajid Ali, scarcely compatible with the diplomatic courtesy expected in the intercourse of a British functionary with a national ally. Personal acquaintance might have mitigated this feeling; but Colonel Sleeman does not seem to have attempted to employ the influence which his age, position, and knowledge of the world might have given him with the king, who was then a young man of about five-and-twenty. "I have not," he says, "urged his majesty to see and converse with me, because I am persuaded that nothing that I could say would induce him to alter his mode of life, or to associate and commune with any others than those who now exclusively form his society."*

The tour of inspection was made during three months of the cold season of 1850, in defiance of the tacit opposition of the native government, on whom the expenses, amounting to £30,000, were charged.† The mode of proceeding adopted to procure evidence against the King of Oude, and the complete setting aside of the authority of the native government therein involved, may be excused by circumstances, but cannot be justified. A similar proceeding in any Anglo-Indian province would unquestionably have revealed a mass of crime and suffering, of neglect and unredressed wrongs, of which no conception could have been previously formed. Under our system, however, the evils from which the people labour, lie deep, and resemble the complicated sufferings which affect the physical frame in a high state of civilisation. Under native despotism, the diseases of the body politic are comparatively few in number, and easily discernible, analogous to those common to man in a more natural state. The employment of torture, for instance, as a means of extorting revenue, is a barbarism which seems general among Asiatic governments; and it has been, if indeed it be not still, practised by our own native underlings, in consequence of imperfect supervision and excessive taxation. In Oude, this favourite engine of despotism and oppression was, as might have been expected, in full operation. It ought, long years before, to have been not simply inveighed against by residents in communications to their own government, but enacted against in treaties; for, clearly, when the British government guaranteed to a despotic ruler the means of crushing domestic rebellion, they became responsible that their troops should not be instrumental in perpetuating the infliction, on the innocent, of cruelties which the laws of England would not suffer to be perpetrated on the person of the vilest criminal.

The supreme government are accused of having contented themselves with inculcating rules of justice and mercy by vague generalities, without any attempt to take advantage of opportunities for initiating reforms. Major Bird, formerly assistant-resident at Lucknow, affirms that he has now in his custody proposals framed by the native government, with the assistance of the resident, Colonel Richmond, in 1848, for the introduction of the British system of administration in the king's dominions, to be tried in the first instance in such portions of them as adjoined the British territories. The scheme was submitted to Mr. Thomason, the lieutenant-governor of the North-Western Provinces, for correction, and was then forwarded to the governor-general, by whom it was rejected; the secretary to government stating, that "if his majesty the King of Oude would give up the whole of his dominions, the East India government would think of it; but that it was not worth while to take so much trouble about a portion."‡

Such a rebuff as this is quite indefensible. Although the worthless ministers and favourites by whom the king was surrounded, might have eventually neutralised any good results from the proposed experiment, yet, had the Calcutta authorities really felt the

* Parl. Papers relative to Oude.—Blue Book, 1856; p. 158.

† In the *Reply to the Charges against the King of Oude*, published in the name of Wajid Ali Shah himself, the following passage occurs:—"When Colonel Sleeman had, under pretence of change of air for the benefit of his health, expressed a wish to make a tour through the Oude dominion, although such a tour was quite unusual, I provided him with tents and bullock-trains, and ordered my officers to furnish him with men for clearing the road, provisions and all other necessaries; and although this cost me lacs of rupees, still I never murmured nor raised any objections." In Colonel Sleeman's very first halt, he is described as having received petitions, and wrote letters thereon to the native government, in defiance alike of treaties, of the express orders of the Court of Directors, and of the rule of neutrality previously observed by successive residents.—(Pp. 8; 13.)

‡ *Dacoitee in Excelsis; or, the Spoliation of Oude*, p. 102. Taylor: London.

TO SUBSCRIBERS TO "THE INDIAN EMPIRE."

The Letterpress Description of the Plates now being inserted in the Parts, will, when the Work is completed, bind up with the Engravings to which they refer.

THE

INDIAN EMPIRE.

DESCRIPTION OF THE ENGRAVINGS.

THE KEEREE PASS.

One of the most agreeable diversities that can occur in the life of a European resident in Hindoostan, is a visit to the Hills—the common term applied in India to the lower ranges of the Himalaya Mountains. Many are driven from the plains to try the effects of a more bracing climate for the recovery of health; but there are some to whom a love of the picturesque, and a restless desire to seek amusement in ever-varying change of scene, prove the chief incentive for a tour into the recesses of the mighty and mysterious range that forms the northern boundary of our Indian empire. The favourite and most exciting route, when undertaking such an expedition, is by Saharunpore, a frontier town of the province of Delhi (sometimes called the threshold of the hill districts), whence it is usual to penetrate through the valley of the Deyrah Dhoon, to the interior of the Himalayas, and the sources of the Jumna and the Ganges.

On commencing a journey towards the valley, the road of the traveller is through the Keeree Pass; and this lovely portal to a new country gives delightful promise of the scenery beyond. The distant view which may have been already caught of the great Himalaya, from a spot in the neighbourhood of Saharunpore, is of that dreamy, poetical description, which, though full of beauty, presents little that is definite, and only excites curiosity. From this spot two inferior belts, divided from each other by deep intersecting vales, appear to rise tier above tier, the pyramidal snow-capped heights, which seem to lift themselves into another world, crowning the whole with almost awful majesty. From the site mentioned, the mountain-ranges have all the indistinctness that belong to the land of faërie, and which, leaving the imagination to luxuriate in its most fanciful creations, invest the scene with a species of enchantment. The pure, dazzling whiteness of the regions of eternal snow, give occasionally a cloud-like appearance to the towering summits, and may almost induce the belief, that they indeed form part of the heaven to which they aspire; while, in other states of the atmosphere, they stand out in bold relief, catching the rays of the sun, and reflecting a golden tint, or rearing their lofty points, white with the unsullied snow of ages, they proclaim, that while all else on earth is liable to change, themselves endure, immutable and for ever.

Upon entering the Keeree Pass, the distant view of the true Himalaya—the birth-place and abode of the gods of Hindoostan—is lost, and the scene becomes one of the softest beauty imaginable; the devious valley winds amongst rocky eminences, richly clothed with stately trees. At every step forward the landscape changes its features; and, though its character still remains the same, presents so great variety of forms—of crag and precipice, wild rock, deep forest, and luxuriant valley—that the traveller is lost in pleasurable amazement;—now exulting with that joy which the exile alone can feel when suddenly encountering some point of resemblance to a well-known object near a far-off home—now struck with wonder by some dazzling specimen of native growth. Here, for the first time, is beheld, in all its native luxuriance, the giant creeper (*Scandent banhinia*), with justice termed the monarch of its tribe. This enormous parasite winds its snake-like stem—which attains the size, and somewhat resembles the body, of the boa-constrictor—round the trunks of the forest-trees, either mingling their flowers with its foliage, or flinging them from the festoons which it forms from branch to

branch as it travels along. The rich scent of these superb blossoms, together with that of the banbool, fills the air with perfume, and gratifies at once both sight and smell.

There are two halting-places in the Keeree Pass: one, the Mohun Chokee, at the entrance; the other, the Shoupore Chokee, within the pass, which extends to a length of upwards of six miles. A party of tourists, when consisting of several persons, having with them a numerous *cortége*—comprising horses, elephants, and bullocks, for the conveyance of baggage—presents an imposing appearance; and the usual encampment at the Mohun Chokee becomes extensive and picturesque, when animated by groups of attendants, assembled round their fires—the horses and elephants picketed under the trees, and the bullocks reposing on the ground.

Advancing from this spot, the traveller approaches the low hills, which compose, as it were, the outworks of the Himalaya. Of these, the elevation varies from 500 to 900 feet above the plains, and about 2,500 above the level of the sea. The thick forest and brushwood with which they are clothed are full of peacocks; and, amidst game of less importance, the tiger is found; while hares, and the black and grey partridge, literally swarm around. There are, however, parts of the woody ranges beyond Keeree, so strongly infected with poisonous exhalations, that at the worst season they are deserted even by the brute creation; monkeys, tigers, every species of quadruped, and even the birds, urged by some instinctive warning, quit the deadly spot, and seek a resting-place in distant and more healthy neighbourhoods.

THE GANGES, ENTERING THE PLAINS NEAR HURDWAR.

Emerging from the Keeree Pass, the road proceeds in the direction of Hurdwar (*Hari-dwar*, the Gate of Vishnu), near the point at which the sacred waters of the Ganges enter the plains of Hindoostan. The scenery around Hurdwar affords some of the most splendid landscapes which are to be found on the bright and beautiful river whose majestic course is diversified by so many interesting objects. The town stands at the base of a steep mountain, on the verge of a slip of land reclaimed from the forest, and surrounded on all sides by thick jungle. The leafy fastnesses of the Deyrah Dhoon appear immediately above the pass; and below, the uncultivated wastes of the Terraie stretch their wildernesses for many miles. The locality about Hurdwar has for ages been held in high veneration by the worshippers of Vishnu, and the town itself is one of the most frequented resorts of Hindoo pilgrims, who flock thither from all parts of India, to perform their devotions in the mystic stream at the moment of its emancipation from the untrodden recesses of the vast Himalaya, in whose profound solitudes the infant waters spring from their everlasting fount.

To behold the Ganges at the moment in which its faith-inspiring current bursts into freedom from its mountain boundary, and glides in one broad stream along the plain, is to the exhausted devotee who has endured weeks, perhaps months, of fatigue and privation consequent upon a painful and hazardous journey, an ample recompense for all his toil and suffering. He gazes enraptured on the holy river, and, gathering up his failing strength to the task, presses onward, but too happy to yield up life with the first plunge of his body in the hallowed wave. Guided by faith in the doctrine of his race, the worshippers of Bramah believe that a blessed immortality is secured to the person who shall thus end his earthly career; and, consequently, many who are wearied of life, or are anxious to enter scenes of purer enjoyment, will cheerfully commit suicide, or, if too weak to perform the act themselves, will prevail on their nearest friends to accelerate the progress of dissolution by leaving their bodies to float down the sacred stream, while their souls are absorbed in the Divine Essence.

It is at this point of emergence from the hills that persons journeying from a great distance are anxious to fill their jars with water, that their homes may be hallowed by a portion of the sacred element. Rich and pious Hindoos, who inhabit the provinces remote from this spot, spend large sums of money in procuring it by means of messengers, who are

employed specially for the purpose. The water-pots are oftentimes conveyed to their destination in a picturesque manner, being enclosed in a framework decorated with flowers and feathers, and slung upon bamboos resting on the shoulders of long files of men, who will convey it thus, without contamination, for several hundred miles. The bearers of the sacred fluid, although enjoying immunity from danger from all other enemies, are yet frequently waylaid and murdered by the Thugs, who consider murder to be an act of duty towards their goddess Bhowannee, the destructive power; and who will murder the poorest victim that falls in their way, to propitiate their deity, and induce her to provide them with richer sacrifices.

Beyond the point at which the Ganges enters the plains, to its final junction with the ocean (a distance of 1,200 miles), it flows smoothly and placidly along, occasionally vexed and ruffled by tempest; or, assuming an alarming degree of velocity when swollen by the melting of the snows, its strong current glides with the speed of an arrow. There are, however, no cataracts in its long descent towards the sea, the fall being somewhat less than a foot a mile, through a channel which varies in width very considerably in different places, and at particular seasons; until, as the mighty river approaches the ocean, it spreads out its waters afar, pouring them forth in a flood ten miles broad. The Ganges is not fordable below its confluence with the Jumna at Allahabad; but though it may be crossed by men and animals at several places previous to its junction with that tributary, the navigation is not interrupted from the spot in which it enters the plains. Its rise is seldom above thirty-two feet; but when it reaches this height, it spreads over the adjacent country like a sea, inundating the low land, and frequently destroying whole villages; those that remain, rising like islands in the midst of the watery waste. The waters of the Ganges are so charged with earthy particles, that when the floods begin to subside, the quantity of alluvial matter deposited is inconceivably great; and an instance is recorded in which a branch of the river was filled up nearly to a level with the adjacent country in the space of a week, the material deposited being equal to 900,000,000 solid feet. Between the mountains and the sea, the stream of the Ganges is augmented by the contributions of eleven large rivers, some of which are equal in magnitude to the Rhine, and none are less than the Thames. Its extreme length, from its source to the sea, is estimated at 1,560 miles.

HURDWAR.

The town of Hurdwar, which is small, but well built, is adorned with several commodious ghauts, constructed of cut freestone, descending by long flights of steps to the river. It consists chiefly of one principal street, running north and south, parallel with the course of the water, and composed of handsome houses belonging to rich merchants and Brahmins from every part of India. Many of the best edifices of Hurdwar have their foundations laid in the bed of the sacred river.

The roofs of the houses at this place are generally covered by troops of monkeys, who are held in much veneration in every stronghold of Hindoo superstition, and are, consequently, suffered to increase in such unchecked abundance, that they become an intolerable nuisance to their protectors, it being difficult to prevent their intrusion into the most private apartments.

The resident population of Hurdwar being small, the accommodation for pilgrims and others, who repair in great numbers to the place at certain seasons, is of a temporary description only, the wealthy portion of the pilgrims being alone indulged with the shelter of a roof over them; the remainder of the vast multitude whom religion, pleasure, or business brings to the spot, being content to bivouac under canvas, or beneath the shadows of the trees. At an adjacent town named Kunkul, there are, however, numerous serais for the accommodation of strangers, consisting of long, low, quadrangular

buildings, surrounded with suites of small apartments, in which human and animal life mingle together in one confused mass of noise, disorder, and excitement.

During the fair (of which we shall presently speak), on either side of the approach to Hurdwar, for a distance of two miles, are to be seen large and handsome tents belonging to the civil and military officers of the Company, who repair thither on duty; while others who visit the place for amusement only, avail themselves of the shelter of the same encampment. These canvas abodes are diversified by the more substantial residences of rich natives, sheltered by large mango groves, and beautified with rare and magnificent flowers; and so great is the necessity for temporary habitations during the fair, that artificers resort to the place from a considerable distance, in order to construct houses of thatch and grass mats, on a bamboo frame.

This celebrated fair is yearly held in the month of April, and lasts nearly a month. It is attended by pilgrims and traders from all parts of India—the first impelled by devotion to perform their ablutions in the sacred river; the other by a desire to profit by the opportunity presented by the vast assemblage, for mingling business with devotion. The auspicious moment for the observance of the religious portion of the affair is calculated by the Brahmins; who aver, that a great increase in the efficacy of the rite is derivable from its performance when Jupiter is in Aquarius, or the Sun enters Aries—which happens every twelfth year.

The climate of Hurdwar, during the early part of April, is exceedingly variable from four in the afternoon until nine or ten on the following day: the wind generally blows from the north or east, over the snowy mountains, rendering the air delightfully cool: during the intermediate hours, however, the thermometer frequently rises to 94°; and the clouds of dust arising from the concourse of people and cattle, add considerably to the annoyance sustained from the heat.

The Ganges, during the rainy season, is a mile in width at Hurdwar, pursuing its course between low woody islands, some of which afford very commodious camping-ground. On the west bank the eye rests upon a ridge of hills, rising to the height of 600 feet, covered with thick brushwood mingled with trees. These hills are cleft in many places into rugged and deep ravines, which afford cover to numerous wild animals. The background of the landscape is formed of part of the range of blue mountains, from 6,000 to 8,000 feet in height, which conceal the base of the Himalaya or snowy region, and fill up the distance in the most magnificent manner possible.

THE PILGRIM FAIR AT HURDWAR.

It is difficult to convey an adequate idea of the grandeur and beauty that render Hurdwar one of the places most worthy of a traveller's attention in India, or to attempt to describe the diversified swarms of animate creation that, in the form of men and beasts of every race and clime, cover the whole ground around the holy station during the annual festival of the pilgrims at Hurdwar, in April. Horse-merchants from Bokhara and Cabool occupy the stony, central portions of the river; while those from Torkistan take up quarters behind the houses of the town. Elephant dealers incline to the suburbs for the sake of fodder; but, morning and evening, traverse the roads with their studs, each elephant having a bell attached to its neck to give warning of approach. Buneas, or grain-sellers; Hulwaes, or confectioners; cloth, shawl, and toy-merchants, occupy the roadside, close to the town; their dwelling-places being interspersed with enclosures containing piles of barley and straw, heaped up and ready for sale.

On the sides of the hill to the west, thousands of Seik families are clustered, with their huts, tents, camels, bullocks, mules, and horses, crowded together in wild confusion. Near these are the tents of the better order of visitors, in groups of two or three, and constructed of white or striped canvas, gaily fringed and ornamented with scalloped

borderings of scarlet cloth. There, also, are the tents of the superior horse-dealers, Arab or Persian merchants, who have brought animals of the purest breed, for which they demand enormous prices. Men are there, too, with bears, leopards, tigers, deer of all kinds, monkeys, Persian greyhounds, beautiful cats, and rare birds for sale. In short, there are collected at this fair, samples of the most rare, beautiful, and costly of the productions of the East, natural and artificial; while Europe also contributes largely to the stock of valuable merchandise brought to this great mart for distribution among the swarming races of Hindoostan.

The crowding and confusion of buyers and sellers; the native groups in every imaginable variety of costume—some shining in cloth of gold, and surrounded by followers richly arrayed; others less expensively, but picturesquely, dressed, and many half-naked or wildly clad—all mingled together, among priests, soldiers, and religious mendicants—half beggar, half bandit; with here and there a cluster of Europeans mounted upon elephants, and affecting to look with supreme contempt upon the scene around them—exhibit altogether a combination of individualities that no other place in the world is capable of presenting. As may be easily imagined, the noise baffles all description.

During the time of the fair, the neighbouring roads are crowded by thousands of travellers in every description of vehicle, and mounted on elephants, bullocks, and camels, on horseback and on foot, and of all ages, complexions, and costumes. As they pass the pagodas on their way, the air resounds with shouts of "Mahadeo Bol!" which is repeated from front to rear, until the distant echoes take up the note, and the welkin rings with the cry of "Bol! Bol!" The fair and the ghaut divide the attention of persons whom mere curiosity has drawn to the spot. In the ghaut immense crowds succeed each other without intermission; the vast influx of people thronging to the river-side, especially at the auspicious moment in which ablution is considered most efficacious. This ceremony has, until of late years, been generally productive of serious accident. Formerly a narrow avenue led from the principal street to the ghaut; the rush through this was tremendous, and numerous lives were lost—not fewer than seven hundred having fallen a sacrifice in one day to the enthusiastic zeal with which the devotees pressed forward to the river. The road has, however, been widened, and a convenient ghaut constructed by direction of the government; and the pilgrims at Hurdwar have since been able to perform an essential rite of their religion without danger.

The Brahmins are, of course, conspicuous in the throng: they collect the tribute, but do not otherwise exercise their sacerdotal functions, the bathing being performed without any peculiar ceremony: there are also a vast number of mendicants of every description, many being, from their filth, their distortion, or their nakedness, the most disgusting objects imaginable. The utter absorption of every faculty in the duty performed by the bathers, who are only intent upon saturating their bodies with the sacred waters, offers an extraordinary contrast to the listless, indifferent air of the European spectators, who, lazily reposing on their elephants, survey the scene at a convenient distance. A few missionaries distributing copies of the Scriptures translated into the various dialects of the East, are the only types of European intelligence that appear to take an interest in the scene around them.

Frequently, upon this occasion, a large congregation of the magnates of the land is assembled at Hurdwar. The Begum Sumroo, during her lifetime, would often make her appearance, with a retinue of 1,000 horse and 1,500 infantry. Here, also, was wont to assemble the Nawab of Nujibabad, the Rajahs of Ghuosgarh, Uchet, and Sadwa; the Putteeala rajah and his vakeel, whose attendants were distinguished by their light yellow turbans and sashes; and the Rajah of Balespoor in the mountains: all of whom, the latter especially, making it a point to traverse the fair mornings and evenings. The Balespoor rajah usually appeared seated on a remarkably tall elephant, in a large howdah overlaid with plates of solid silver glistening in the sun, and covered with a pointed dome-like canopy of scarlet, supported on four silver pillars richly embossed. He wore a large white conical turban; and amongst the jewels that adorned his person were two enormous pearls, set as ear-rings, the hoops being of gold three inches in diameter. A servant sat behind him, waving slowly, backwards and forwards over his head, a splendid chowrie, or feather-fan, as an emblem of rank. Many of his relatives followed upon elephants

caparisoned in various degrees of splendour, surrounded by horsemen showily dressed and accoutred, capering and curvetting about. Besides these were the usual rabble route on foot (the constant atteudants upon Eastern sovereignty), crowding in the rear, heedless of the vicious animals rearing and leaping on all sides, as their riders fired off muskets, matchlocks, and pistols, and made the adjacent hills reverberate with the sound.

Among these wild but truly Oriental pageants, Rhutz (four-wheeled carriages) abound at the fair, the roofs covered with white linen or scarlet cloth, and terminating with ornaments of gold or silver: these are chiefly occupied by women, six or eight of whom are crowded into one vehicle; small curtained apertures at the sides, enabling them to snatch hasty glances at the multitude around, without themselves being visible. Troops of dancing-girls also establish themselves at Hurdwar during the fair, and are to be seen performing either in front of the houses, or in the interior of the dwellings of the rich inhabitants.

As soon as darkness sets in, the whole of the river, the town, and the inhabited portion of the forest, present a continuous blaze of illuminations, the display being varied by occasional bursts of fireworks. Nothing can be more pleasing than the effect of the lamps, sparkling and gleaming between the trees; while the islands and woody shores of the river are distinctly marked by innumerable vessels of oil, kindled and sent floating dowu the stream.

At these immense annual gatherings the peace of the promiscuous multitude is usually preserved by a large detachment from the Sirmoor battalion of Goorkas, or hill-rangers, who come down from their quarters at Deyrah Dhoou, and garrison one of the islands in the centre of the river, where they are out of the way, and yet sufficiently near to prevent disturbance. A considerable body of police, with the civil magistrates, are also present to enforce regulations for the preservation of order.

MUSSOOREE, OR MUSSOURI.

Leaving Hurdwar, the traveller may procced up the valley of the Dhoon to the village of Rajpoor, at the foot of the secondary chain of the Himalaya. Part of the road conducts him through a thick forest of lofty trees, among which will be found the rhododendron in full bloom: the underwood is composed of richly flowering plants, and the air laden with the fragrance of the corunda, whose white starry blossoms are redolent with perfume. Iu some places the road forms itself into an avenue, the branches of the trees meeting overhead. In this beautiful valley, part of which is watered by a clear stream shaded by alders, the turf is enlivened by the amaranth, a bright scarlet and pink flower, and several species of the ranunculus. There are also found large bushes of sage springing from a carpet of thyme, which gives out its aromatic odour to every breeze.

The town of Deyrah, in this valley, is the station of the Goorka battalion of hill-rangers, whose faithful and energetic services through the war of the sepoy revolt, has been frequently and justly acknowledged by every commander under whom they have fought. It has long beeu selected for the residence of the political agent of the province, and has many advantages to boast of. Deyrah is celebrated for a temple, sacred to the memory of a Hindoo devotee by whom it was founded; but the chief claim of this individual to favourable recollection, arises from the fact of his having constructed a handsome stone tank, which occupies an acre of ground, and is an ornamental as well as useful boon to the inhabitants.

The ascent from Deyrah to Rajpoor is so gradual as to be hardly perceptible; but from the latter place it becomes more abrupt, the road winding along the sides of precipices of the most romantic character, craggy with rocks, and richly clothed with trees that descend to the bottom of deep and almost unfathomable ravines, through

which, however, the ear can detect the sound of gushing waters, as they pursue their course through channels impervious to the eye of man.

Rajpoor is an exceedingly pretty village, sufficiently elevated to admit of a clear and unobstructed view of the ever-beautiful Dhoon: near it are some natural curiosities worth visiting, one being the dripping rock of Shansa Dhare. From a precipitous height of overhanging cliff a stream descends in perpetual showers of crystal, each drop producing a petrifaction: and the cliff being worn away by the continual action of the water, assumes a cavernous appearance, formed entirely of spar. In this natural temple a Brahmin has erected an altar, dedicated to Mahadeo (the Great God.) Opposite to this, in another direction, is a spring containing a large proportion of sulphureous particles, rising out of a mass of limestone, and tinging the adjacent stones with its colouring matter. At Mala Pani, in the vicinity, is a monument erected to the memory of General Gillespie and the officers who fell before the fortress of Kalunga, in the Goorka war of 1815.

The summit of the ridge on which Rajpore is situated, is elevated 8,000 feet above the level of the sea, and from its utmost height a glorious burst of landscape is presented; the plains below stretching far and wide, bounded on either side by the Jumna and the Ganges, which, at a distance of forty miles apart, pursue their tortuous career until their silvery traces are lost in the meeting skies. After winding for several hundred miles in a south-easterly direction, these beautiful rivers unite—the Jumna throwing itself into the Ganges at Allahabad; thus enclosing an extensive tract of country, called the Dooab, which, by their fertilising waters, is rendered one of the most productive districts in India.

Turning in another direction to the mountain scenery, height rises upon height, intersecting valleys appear interminable, and the mind is wrapped in astonishment and awe, as the gigantic wonders of the vast scene are unfolded. Mussooree, the site of a station which is now one of the chief resorts of visitors from the plains, stands at an elevation of 7,500 feet above the level of the sea, and is situated on the southern face of the ridge called the Landour range, overlooking a village of that name, which has been selected for the establishment of a military sanitarium for officers and soldiers of the Bengal army who may have lost their health in the plains. Mussooree, in consequence of the great resort of invalids, is rapidly increasing in size and importance; but the dwellings erected by the European residents have been compared, not inaptly, to gulls' nests on the side of a cliff. There is so little table-land—the level plain, composed of a few square yards, being chiefly cut out of the rock—that the foundations of many of the cottages are built up with masonry at the edge of precipices, and there is scarcely an enclosed piece of ground round any dwelling. The roads are narrow, and in many places scooped out of the sides of steeps of the most fearful-looking nature; yet, so speedily does the eye become accustomed to the appearance of danger, that ladies gallop along them without experiencing any apprehension.

The Mussoorec heights are composed of transition limestone, very craggy and bold, and argillaceous schistus, the slate exceedingly crumbling; there is also a large vein of trap in its valleys. No great expense is incurred in the building of houses at Mussoorce; the abundance of timber in its immediate vicinity affording all necessary woodwork in inexhaustible quantities, among which the oak and rhododendron—the latter attaining the size of a forest-tree—are prominent. Some Europeans have been rather unfortunate in the site of their houses; others, more happily placed, are sheltered from the north wind, which, passing over the snowy mountains, exercises a chilling influence over everything exposed to its keen blasts. The trees on the northern side of the range are stunted and withered; but luxuriance and beauty characterise the south—the one side being covered with rhododendrons, rich with flowers; while the other is gloomy, with a clothing of sombre pines.

The rhododendron tree bears a magnificent crimson flower, and forms one of the most beautiful as well as the most prominent features of the scene. The cherry, pear, and barberry are also found. The first European mansion constructed at Mussooree belonged to a Colonel Young, commanding a Goorka corps stationed in the Dhoon. It was called by the undignified appellation of the Potato-garden, in consequence of a plantation of that useful vegetable; and remained for years the only habitation of the kind upon the hill. The house was prettily situated, perched upon the summit of one of

the lower knolls, that cluster together, and rise one above the other from the Mussooree range.

The neighbouring valleys and ridges afford to the lovers of field-sports, domiciled at Mussooree, abundant opportunities for procuring every sort of game, although there is doubtless some difficulty in the pursuit of it. The pheasants are exceedingly numerous, and of great size and beauty.

The station assumes a very interesting appearance at night, with the lights from its numerous houses sprinkled about the hill-sides, and the fires which native servants kindle on the ground wherever they can find space. Many of the builders of houses among the Mussooree hills appear to have been solely influenced in the choice of a site by the prospect it commands; others, however, have looked more to the eligibility and convenience of the situation as regards water; for though the mountain streams may be heard, and are even seen, meandering through the bed of the ravine immediately below the windows, they are not accessible but with much cost of time and labour; and the necessary supply of water frequently becomes very expensive, on account of the carriage.

Estates here are purchased or rented on lease from the rajah of the district, who is very willing to let to strangers, land which has hitherto contributed little or nothing to his annual revenue. Spots thus taken are indicated by a board bearing the proprietor's name, who thus frequently possesses himself of a large and beautiful estate, consisting, perhaps, of a whole hill covered with forest-trees, and stocked with abundance of game; of which he is sole master, subject only to some regulations which have been found necessary to prevent the wanton demolition of timber. In the dearth of amusement, it has been known that the cutting down trees, either for fuel, or merely for the purpose of watching their fall, has formed the employment of vacant minds; but of late years, such senseless pastime has been restricted; and those who would have disregarded the appeal of taste and propriety, have been compelled to bow to the prohibitory mandate of superior authority.

THE ABBEY AND HILLS FROM NEAR MUSSOOREE.

Although the general appearance of Mussooree might have been much improved by more tasteful arrangements on the part of the early residents, yet there are many habitations in the locality which possess a considerable portion of picturesque beauty; and amongst these the mansion which, with greater regard for European associations than for local propriety, has been entitled "The Abbey," stands conspicuous.

The abbey at Mussooree occupies a very commanding site, apart from all other habitations, on the extreme summit of a rugged mountain. During the fine weather, the prospects obtained from its elevated situation much more than compensate for any disadvantage; but, in the wet season, it is completely enveloped in mist, and damp clouds penetrate through every aperture. The intrusion of fog into a house is sufficiently disagreeable; but in these altitudes the clouds take the same liberty; and suddenly, if sitting in an apartment with the door or window open, the inhabitants often find themselves wrapped in a very poetical but very inconvenient garment. The storms, also, experienced in these elevated situations are exceedingly terrific; occasionally they rage below the residence, encircling some sublime peak of the Landour range; but at other times they pour their unbroken fury on the devoted mansion and its terrified inhabitants—the thunder peals amidst the snow-storm, while lightning flashes around like a continuous sheet of fire, and a tremendous hurricane threatens destruction to whatever opposes its progress.

The extent of mischief occasioned by these elementary conflicts is often very great in these exposed regions; and it is with fear and trembling that, after the fury of the storm has passed by, the inhabitants venture forth to survey the havoc that traces its path.

On one side are seen trees torn up by their roots; on another are rocks wrenched from their foundations, and precipitated down the side of the mountain, carrying with them, in their descent to some dark abyss, the soil and vegetation in their path. Sheep and poultry are scattered about lifeless, crushed by the descending mass; and it has occasionally happened, that human life also has been found equally insecure among these alpine heights.

In consequence of the frequent mutations of Anglo-Indian society, the abbey has more than once changed its owner, but has always been considered a desirable property, notwithstanding its exposure to all the winds of heaven. It is scarcely possible to have a finer or more extended view than that which is commanded from the windows. The gigantic Choor is visible to the right, capped with snow, which remains unmelted during the greater part of the year; while, on every side, hills and valleys, in endless succession, present flourishing villages, surrounded with rich cultivation, scattered hamlets, and thick forests. To the left, a partial glance at the Dhoon and the plains beyond close the prospect; while, in the distance, the river Jumna can be seen threading the mazes of the champaign country, and marking its course by a thread of silver.

During the months of July and August the rain falls almost incessantly, and the inhabitants of Mussooree are compelled to find amusement within the shelter of their homes. At this period the views from the abbey are naturally circumscribed; but good fires impart a glow of genial warmth and comfort to the weather-bound; and whenever the sky clears up, the most beautiful effects are visible in the scenery, either wholly or partially unveiled by the sunbeams breaking through the clouds. A lover of nature domiciled in one of these altitudes will always find something to interest him and command attention in the numerous changes which take place in different states of the atmosphere, imparting endless variety to scenery always sublime. Sunrise is accompanied by the highest degree of splendour in these alpine regions, lighting up the mountain-brows with gold, and flinging over the snowy range afar off those gorgeous hues which only the hand of nature can display. Then, as the mists curl upwards, and the veil is drawn from the face of the earth, the distant towns and villages gradually appear, and give to the rich and varied landscape the charm of almost fairy-like beauty. Such are amongst the attractions of the hill station of Mussooree.

THE HIMALAYAS—SNOWY RANGE FROM LANDOUR.

The Himalaya Mountains, signifying by name "the abode of snow," form the tremendous barrier which, stretching from the Indus on the north-west, to the Bramapootra on the south-east, divides the plains of Hindoostan from the wilds of Thibet and Tartary. This chain of mountains comprises numerous ranges, extending in different directions west of the Indus. One of its ramifications, running in a still more westerly direction, is known to the Afghans by the name of the Hindoo-Koosh, the whole stupendous range being merely broken by the Indus. From the north-east point of Cashmere it takes a south-eastern course, stretching along the sources of all the Punjab rivers, except the Sutlej, where it separates the hilly portion of the Lahore province from those tracts which have been designated, in modern geography, Little Thibet. Still pursuing the same direction, it crosses the heads of the Ganges and Jumna, and forces their currents towards a southward channel. Farther east, the chain is supposed to be less continuous, it being the generally received opinion that it is penetrated by the Gunduck, the Arun, the Cosi, and the Teesta rivers. Beyond the limits of Bootan, the course of the chain extending into an unexplored country, it can be traced no longer; but the supposition is in favour of its running to the Chinese sea, skirting the northern frontier of the provinces of Quangsi and Quantong, and lessening in height as it approaches the east. The portion of this extensive chain which borders Hindoostan,

rises to an elevation far exceeding that of any other mountains in the world, in some places forming an impassable barrier to the countries beyond, and rendering their extent a matter of conjecture only. The breadth of the snowy chain varies in different parts between the Sutlej and the Ganges; but it has been estimated at about eighty miles from the plains of Hindoostan to those of Thibet. The heights of this spleudid barrier are unsurmountable by man; but in some places, the beds of rivers which intersect it afford access to its wild and gloomy fastnesses; and as a few have succeeded in penetrating the gigantic mass, there is a possibility that the efforts of science and daring combined, may yet force a passage through the rocks and snows of these desert wastes. The ranges of hills, extending in a southerly direction from the Himalaya, are divided into numerous principalities to the eastward of the Sutlej—Sirmoor, Gurhwal, Kumaou, Nepaul; and many others are to be found, several of which were unknown to the European inhabitants of India previous to the Goorka wars of 1815.

The plains of India may with justice be deemed one vast prison, in which the sun, aided at one period of the year by the hot winds, acts the part of gaoler. It is only during a brief interval in the morning and evening, that exercise can be taken with impunity, except during the cold season; and even then a carriage or a horse is required. Emancipation, therefore, from these restraints—a feeling of power to wander at will in the open air, and the invigorating influence of a bracing atmosphere, combine to render individuals, on their arrival at Mussoorce, like captives newly liberated from a dungeon, or schoolboys breaking loose from their forms.

From Mussooree a road has been cut at the elevation of 7,000 feet above the sea level, that completely encircles the height chosen for the sanitarium of Landour; permitting the residents to make an easy excursion of about four miles, either on horseback or on foot; every step of the way being fraught with objects of beauty and interest.

In no place can the snowy range of the Himalaya be seen to more advantage than from the western side of Landour; the distance being about thirty miles. From this point it rises with a majesty and distinctness which is in some measure lost when the traveller, at a nearer approach, becomes shut in as it were amid lofty peaks, which circumscribe his view; and where, in consequence of the extraordinary purity of the atmosphere, they, especially soon after sunrise, appear to the eye much nearer than they really are. The intermediate country is then veiled in mist, spreading like a lake; and the snowy eminences beyond, rising from its margin, when lighted up by the slanting rays of the sun, seem as if they could be gained by an easy effort: it is not until those silvery mists have cleared away, and the sun shines out with broader splendour, revealing the true state of the case, that the illusion is dispelled. Dhawallaghiri (the white mountain), in which the river Gunduck has its source, is considered to be the most lofty of these peaks: its height has not been exactly determined; but accounts that are esteemed accurate, render it 27,400 feet above the level of the sea. Jumnoutri and Gungoutri, whence the Jumna and the Ganges have their birth, are next in proportion, both exceeding 24,000 feet; but the last-named is the most highly honoured by the natives, some of whom affirm, that on its topmost summit Mahadeo has erected his throne; while others reverence the whole mountain as the god.

Villages are to be found at an elevation of 14,000 feet; but dwelling at this altitude is not healthy, and the inhabitants have a wretched and attenuated appearance. Cultivation has been carried, in some places, 500 feet higher; and vegetation does not totally cease until stopped, at the height of 16,000 feet, by that eternal barrier of snow which asserts supreme dominion over the sullen wastes above.

From another point of Landour the eye embraces the splendid range of mountains through which the sacred river forces its impetuous course—now fretting along a narrow channel, which it has worn amid the rocks; and now flinging itself down in glittering volumes from ridge to ridge; until at length, emerging from the hills, it is seen winding and wandering along the level country in curves of beauty, which the eye may trace until they are lost in distance.

From the crest of the Sowa Khola ridge, at a short distance from Landour, the whole valley of Deyrah Dhoon, the small Sewalik range which encloses it to the south, and the dim plains of Saharunpoor still further in the distance, burst upon the delighted vision; the snowy mountains forming a magnificent background, and the monarch of the

secondary belt—the sublime Choor—standing out in bold relief; while in the vast expanse of plain, the silver lines of the Ganges and Jumna are seen shining through the haze.

SNOWY RANGE FROM TYNEE.

In India, it has long been considered a natural consequence of the position, that all adventurous persons who take up their head-quarters at any of the hill-stations, should make excursions through the mountain passes beyond; and it has not unfrequently happened that some, more enterprising than others of the migratory tribe, have penetrated to the sources of the Ganges and the Jumna. When projecting a tour in the Himalayas, with the latter object in view, it is always desirable that a party of three or more Europeans should unite, each providing himself with some eight or ten servants, who in turn require the assistance of a strong corps of coolies, or porters. They must provide themselves with tents, sure-footed ponies, and chairs, called jhampans; the bearers who carry them on their shoulders on poles, being called jhampanis. It is not always easy to induce the natives to engage in these expeditions. Despite their servile obsequiousness, they look upon the Feringhees—who are not content with the comforts they might enjoy under a good roof, and voluntarily expose themselves to hardships and privations solely from an absurd admiration of mountains, rocks, trees, and horrid snows—as little better than madmen. Accordingly, the instant that any disastrous circumstances occur—when food and fuel become scarce, the cold intense, and the prospect threatening—a general strike is almost certain to take place; and these mutinies are only suppressed by returning fine weather, the opportune acquisition of a fat sheep, or the materials for a good fire; discontent gradually subsiding under the genial influence of sunshine, roast mutton, or even the blaze without the meat.

The perils to be encountered from cold, hunger, and rebellion, are notorious among travellers; but a natural ardour in the pursuit of the picturesque renders such contingencies of minor importance; and the tourists should start from Mussooree in good spirits, and with a determination to accomplish the object for which they set out. Very shortly after the commencement of their travels, they will reach the spot whence the accompanying view was taken.

Tynee, or Marma, stands at an elevation of about 10,000 feet, and affords an opportunity for enjoying in full perfection the sublimity of mountain scenery. The foreground of the vast picture is composed of a ridge richly covered with timber (the growth of ages), and contrasting, by its dark foliage, with the barer eminences around, which, rising in all directions, appear as if the tumultuous waves of a stormy ocean had suddenly been frozen into solidity; while the forest, standing forth in the midst, looks like a peninsula stretching far into the billows. Beyond this wild and confused sea of mountains, arise, in calmer majesty, vast towering piles of stainless snow, which, from whatever point they may be viewed, never fail to inspire sentiments of admiration and of awe. The higher cluster of white peaks near the centre are those of Bundapooch, above Jumnoutri, the source of the Jumna. To the right are the Rudra Himalaya, near Gungoutri, whence springs the Ganges; and still further to the east, the loftiest of the peaks, the Dhawallaghiri, may sometimes be discovered at a distance of 250 miles, rearing its snowy coronet, and looking down from its height of 27,000 feet upon the pigmy world below; while far to the east and west, the hoary tributaries of the giant mountain stretch their snowy eminences in space until they melt into air, and are lost to straining sight. Although the distance from the spot whence this view is taken, to the nearest mountains of the snowy range, is not more than thirty miles, it requires a fatiguing journey of many days to reach them, and involves a route of at least ninety miles. Several persons have succeeded in forcing a passage to the northward of those hills; but the peaks themselves are yet untrodden by human feet.

In the progress of the journey the scene becomes wild, and frequently impressive, the valley narrowing as the travellers advance, and the rocks on either side rising with greater abruptness: the stream which flows along the path is sometimes boiling over rocks, making a sea of foam; at others diving into ravines, and gurgling amidst impenetrable darkness. Occasionally, the savage landscape is relieved by spots of a calmer nature—the castle of some mountain rajah crowning with picturesque beauty a lofty crag, with greensward beneath sloping down to the water, embellished with scattered trees, and approached over a carpet of thyme studded with flowers of every hue, whose fragrance is borne upon the loitering air. The scene changes, and the travellers are surrounded with precipitous rocks—the level space circumscribed to a few yards; and cascades are roaring and tumbling about in every direction. One particular day's march may be described as peculiarly attractive.

The first part conducts the tourists through a narrow gorge, walled on either side by fantastic rocks, and wooded with fine alders, the stream rolling deep beneath their feet; while the path is overhung by dreadful precipices, toppling crags now and then threatening to follow the huge fragments that have already fallen, and to crush whatever impedes their progress: then the scene widens, and a natural terrace shaded by splendid mulberry-trees, offers rest and repose—the rocks scattering themselves around, and being traversed at one place by a foaming cataract. Ascending a steep and rugged eminence, up rock and crag, another halting-place of table-land is reached, adorned with fine chesnut-trees, and commanding an extensive view backed by the snowy ranges; while immediately below appears a rich confusion of waterfalls, wild precipices, and luxuriant foliage. The air here is delightfully cool and bracing; and the meal that awaits the tourists in their halting-place will be heartily enjoyed.

From this point the savage aspect of the route is seldom relieved by scenes of gentle beauty; the ranges of hills, crossing and apparently jostling each other in unparelleled confusion, being all rugged, steep, and difficult to thread; some divided from the rest by wide but rough valleys, their summits crowned by forests of venerable growth; while others, more sharp and precipitous, are nothing more than ravines descending suddenly to an appalling depth—bare solid rocks, several hundred feet in height, or dark with wood, and apparently formed by the torrents that, in the course of ages, have worn for themselves a passage through these gloomy passes. In such a country, cultivation is difficult; small patches of ground can alone be reclaimed from the wilderness, and agriculture is carried on with unremitting toil for very inefficient results.

THE VILLAGE OF NAREE.

Wherever human habitation is found in the course of a tour through the Himalaya, ample proof is afforded of the inveterate nature of the prejudice entertained by the people of the mountains against personal cleanliness; and yet the Puharies (as the hill people are called), though, perhaps, not equal in mental capacity to the inhabitants of the plains, exhibit no want of intelligence, and are easily made to comprehend the means of procuring for themselves additional comforts to their scanty stock: but there is one quality essentially necessary to render them agreeable to European visitors—which is unteachable; and that is, cleanliness!

Dirt, and all its odious concomitants, appear to give zest to the existence of the Puharie; and thus, while strangers pause to admire the picturesque appearance of their villages, the ingenuity displayed in the construction of the houses, and the convenient arrangement of some of the interiors, they are deterred from anything approaching to close contact either to men or dwellings, by the vermin and horrible smells that invariably accompany both.

The number of houses composing the village of Naree is small; the primitive hamlets of the hill districts not usually exceeding twenty-five or thirty, and the families being in the same proportion. The advantages of the division of labour not being yet understood, all the mechanical arts belonging to one trade are carried on by the same individual, who transmits his occupation to his descendants. The greater number of these mountaineers call themselves Rajpoots—*i.e.*, descendants of rajahs; but they are not able to show any legitimate claim to the title—a degenerate race, seldom springing from warlike ancestry. From whatever circumstance it may be caused, it is clear they do not exhibit the intrepidity, hardihood, and enterprise which usually characterise people who inhabit alpine regions; but their timidity and apathy are not so offensive as their total want of manly sentiment. Notwithstanding the absence of refinement of feeling in the Hindoo character generally, the people of the plains manifest a high sense of honour: their marriages may be contracted without respect to that mutual affection which seems so requisite for the security of domestic happiness; but they regard female chastity as an essential; and, if not so easily roused to jealousy as the Mohammedans, will not brook dishonour, and will sacrifice themselves, and those nearest and dearest to them, rather than see their women degraded. On the hills, on the contrary, no sort of respect is paid to the sex: women are looked upon as expensive articles, since every man must purchase his wife; and in order to diminish the cost attendant upon the acquisition and support of the domestic slave, four or five brothers will join in a partnership for the joint possession of the woman. The demand being small, it is generally supposed that the infanticide common to many of the Rajpoot tribes is practised chiefly with regard to daughters; since the proportion of unmarried females in the houses of their parents, is far less than it would be if the number of female children reared bore any proportion to that of the males. The Hindoo of the plains, though sunk in sensuality, occasionally evinces some susceptibility of high feeling; but nothing of the kind can exist amidst a people who, like the Puharies, can neither understand or appreciate the charm of female purity; while the women, so long as the abominable system of polygamy prevails (which, from time immemorial, has been established in the Himalaya), must inevitably remain in their present abject and unnatural condition.

THE BRIDGE AT BHURKOTE.

In travelling through the hill districts, tourists are continually surprised into a remark respecting the changeful nature of the scenery on their line of march; and it is difficult to attempt even a brief description of the country without frequent repetition of the observations to which such sudden alternations in the landscape naturally give rise. Ascending or descending, the transitions from heat to cold, and *vice versâ*, are frequently very sudden and unexpected—the tourist being sometimes annoyed by the incumbrance of clothing while passing through a deep and sunny valley, and envying the freedom of the native attendants, who make no scruple of divesting themselves of every superfluous garment; at other times, and within a few hours, actually shivering with cold.

The features of the landscape are subjected to equally striking mutations: a horrid region of barren rocks, bare and bleak, without a trace of vegetation, surmounted by beetling cliffs frowning in unreclaimed sterility, afford an awful portraiture of desolation and famine. No living creature is to be seen in these dismal solitudes—neither bird nor beast intruding on the rugged wild. The pass threaded, some steep and rocky pathway is ascended, when, gaining the summit of a ridge, the traveller looks down for several hundred feet upon a tangled scene—trees scattering themselves between the rocks, through which an impetuous torrent rushes with dash and foam: anon emerging into green and smiling pastures, enamelled with flowers, and shaded with fruit-trees; amid

which some interesting memorial of the ingenuity and industry of man meets the eye: such, for instance, as the bridge at Bhurkote, which, in its way, is a perfect specimen of the architecture of the Himalayan engineers.

When, as in the case of the stream at Bhurkote, the space is too wide to be spanned by single trees, the banks on either side are brought nearly to a level by means of stone buttresses of solid construction; these are surmounted by rows of stout beams laid close to each other, one end projecting about one-fourth of their extreme length across the stream, and the other firmly secured to *terra firma*. Over them another row of beams is placed, projecting still further, and supported by those below; and in this manner the sides are raised, floor above floor, until the vacant space between may be crossed by single planks. The whole is very skilfully put together—neither glue, nails, or ropes being employed; the absence of those articles, and the tools which a European workman would consider necessary for any structure of the kind, being supplied in a very ingenious manner by contrivances that are quite sufficient for the purpose. Even the masonry is occasionally bound together with a framework of wood, employed as a substitute for mortar, and so admirably managed as to give great strength and solidity to the fabric. The platform across is furnished on either side with rails; but although they afford some appearance of safety, the springing motion of the planks, and the rapidity of the current that hurries along the rocky bed beneath, render considerable steadiness of brain necessary in crossing. This bridge is constructed of a species of larch, and the river is shaded by some very fine alders, which here attain a gigantic size.

VIEW NEAR KURSALEE.

Approaching Kursalee (a well-built village on the route to the glen of the Jumna), the immense assemblage of mountains—range swelling upon range—again forcibly suggests an idea of the waves of a mighty ocean lashed into fury and rearing their billows on high, until, suddenly checked by an All-powerful hand, they cease their wrath, and are stilled into sullen, motionless majesty. The clothing of these hill-sides favours the idea, by adding considerably to their wave-like appearance, and presenting altogether a chaotic mass of wild and singular grandeur.

The road to the village passes through a noble forest, in which the oak and the rhododendron mingle freely with the pine; and, on emerging from the woody labyrinth, opens abruptly upon the Jumna, as it sweeps round the base of a lofty mountain covered with wood to its topmost height. Descending thence to a little valley, the route lies along the side of gentle eminences in a high state of cultivation; amid which, shaded by a grove of fruit-trees, stands a temple in one of the most beautiful situations imaginable—an opening between the neighbouring hills, at the same time, affording a fine view of the snowy mountains, and of a cascade that conveys their welcome tribute to the plains. The valley, in addition to its natural beauties, has a neat appearance—the evidence of human occupation. Apricots in abundance, of the largest size, offer their juicy ripeness to the hand, and enclosures of flowering hedge-rows contribute their fragrance to enhance the charms of the prospect.

The scenery of the glen of the Jumna is, without question, exceedingly beautiful, and scarcely to be paralleled throughout the mountain-range. One portion of the route from Kursalee is up a steep ascent, winding through woods of oak and rhododendron, which extend a whole mile. Upon reaching the summit, a grand prospect of the snowy peaks is obtained from Bundapooch to the right, and Bachuneh to the left—the view below being wide and varied, showing the course of the Jumna to the south-west, until it is lost in distance. The mountain-ridge now traversed is white with snow; but many of the surrounding peaks, which rise still higher, are, on account of their greater steepness, and shaft-like summits, of the most deep and sombre hue. Descend-

ing from this elevation, a beautiful tract of forest land, of a perfectly new character, spreads out before the traveller—the trees being ash, sycamore, horse-chesnut, bamboo, and the wild pomegranate, which here grow in rich luxuriance, at the elevation of 6,867 feet above the level of the sea.

At a short distance from Kursalee is a celebrated hot spring, issuing from the bed of a torrent that falls into the Jumna, at a place called Banass. This torrent bursts from the cleft of one of a range of mountains which hem in a small valley, or rather dell, and rushes down, in one unbroken volume, from a height of eighty feet. The hot spring rises from the base of an opposite mountain, and mingles its waters with those of its colder but more impetuous neighbour. The water is of scalding temperature, and will not admit of the immersion of the hands or feet for a single moment, the thermometer standing at 144° when placed in the nearest part of the spring to the rock from whence it issues. The water is pure and tasteless; but the stones it flows over are discoloured, and encrusted with a black substance. The rocks from which it issues are all quartz, surrounded by gneiss and mica schist on every side, except that on which the torrent falls. This spot is considered by the Hindoos to be exceedingly holy, and the devotees are frequently rapt in a pious ecstasy, happy in the belief that they have secured the road to heaven by offering worship in this extraordinary dell.

The width of the channel allowing the river to spread at this place, renders the stream less tumultuous than either above or below; and its comparatively tranquil surface forms a pleasing contrast to the furious tributary which rushes headlong into it. The rocks, piling themselves one above another in fantastic confusion, are a shelter for thousands of pigeons, which, when disturbed, flock out in clouds; and, amid a scene so fitting for such a guest, the gigantic elk of the mountains finds a favourite haunt. The country around partakes of the same wild and savagely-romantic character. Paths, rough and dangerous, ascend and descend along the sides of precipitous heights, down to ravines whose gloom is never dispelled by the rays of the sun; then, winding upwards, they lead to a halting-place on some rugged ledge, or natural terrace, where the hunter may take his stand and watch for an opportunity to slay the musk deer, which, though scarce and shy, are sometimes within his reach; while the tourist, in search of the picturesque, looks from heights, of hundreds, or even thousands of feet, to trace the course of some wandering stream, ere it flings itself in echoing cascades to some dark abyss below. The foliage of these tremendous solitudes harmonises well with the character of the scene—luxuriant, sombre, and heavy; but enlivened by magnificent clusters of white roses, and enriched by the innumerable family of ferns, which, mingled with a bright variety of flowers, spring, as it were, to welcome the footsteps of man.

KURSALEE.

The village of Kursalee stands at the height of 7,860 feet above the sea-level, and is one of the largest of the class usually found in the Himalaya, consisting of at least thirty houses, with a population amounting to about 300 persons. It is seated on a plain of considerable dimensions, on the left bank of the rocky ravine which forms the channel of the Jumna, surrounded by an amphitheatre of mountains, piled one upon another—some dark with rock and forest, and others shining in all the bright resplendence of eternal snow. The village is reached by an extremely steep and rugged road. Although the winters are severe, and the temperature always low, Kursalee is a place not only of great beauty, but of abundance; being cultivated into a perfect garden well wooded with luxuriant fruit-trees, which, while they add attraction to the landscape, are pleasingly associated with ideas of wealth and comfort among those who live beneath their shade.

Kursalee, notwithstanding its limited population, is a flourishing village, full of temples and Brahmins—the latter always establishing themselves in great numbers near

haunts in most repute with pilgrims resorting to the sacred sources of the Jumna and the Ganges; from whose pockets the holy fraternity contrive to pick a very tolerable subsistence. Some of the temples at Kursalee are said to have been miraculously raised by the gods themselves, and, of course, acquire superior sanctity from that circumstance. They are adorned, according to the zeal and means of the devotees, with ornaments of varied description; among which are musical instruments, and rude images of every imaginable form and material. The horns of deer are also favourite decorations, both of temples and tombs, among the people of the hill districts, who attach some peculiar virtue to such sylvan trophies, and believe that they exercise mysterious influence over their present and future fortunes. In addition to the worship of the numerous deities introduced by the Brahmins of the plains, these mountaineers have a very extensive catalogue of superstitions peculiarly their own; and they offer religious worship to a variety of symbolical representations of good or evil beings, which their imaginations have invested with productive and controlling power. The cow is reverenced by all; although its sacred character does not exempt it from hard work; it being employed in the laborious operations of agriculture, in the manner pursued by the more orthodox Hindoos of the plains; but in the hills it is better treated, and is fed and tended with much greater care than the ill-used animal mocked by the worship of the former, who often, despite their veneration, prove cruel task-masters to the sacred animal.

Some fine pieces of land, attached to the village, are wholly appropriated to the maintenance of the temples and their priests; and the images in some of the places used for worship, are remarkably well executed. At Lakha Kundul (a beautiful village near Kursalee), a religious edifice, dedicated to the Pandoo deities of Ellora, contains a bullock couchant, in black marble, of life-size, sculptured with astonishing fidelity and masterly execution, by some hand that has perhaps been powerless for ages, as it bears indications of very remote antiquity.

The people of Kursalee have become much accustomed to the visits of European strangers on their route to the source of the Jumna; and it is the custom for the principal inhabitants to come out to meet the pilgrims, of whatever religion, who pass through the village. The Hindoos of these districts are exceedingly tolerant in their faith, and are, generally speaking, eager to extend the benefits to be obtained from their gods to everybody that comes in their way. Accordingly, all who choose to submit to the operation, are daubed on the forehead with a distinguishing mark of yellow ochre, denoting the peculiar sect of the operator; into which the bedaubed disciple is supposed to be admitted or regenerated by the act. The Hindoo servants of European strangers joyfully avail themselves of such a testimonial of their near approach to what they consider one of the most holy places in the world. Christian tourists of course dispense with the ceremony; but while they omit the mark of reverence for the pagan deities of the place, the hill people are far from appreciating their reasons for refusal, and do not believe that motives of science or mere curiosity can have induced them to expose themselves to toils and dangers which, in their opinion, religious zeal is alone sufficient to account for.

VIEW ON THE JUMNA—THE SANGHA BRIDGE, NEAR JUMNOOTREE, OR JUMNOUTRI.

Though the distance from Kursalee to Jumnootree is only eight miles, the difficulties and hazards of the route render it a very arduous journey for European tourists. Starting from the usual resting-place, at a short distance from the former village, they very soon enter upon a tortuous, uneven path of varied altitude, sometimes having nothing but a notched tree by which to ascend to a traversable ledge above them; at others, compelled to wander backwards and forwards, through the shallow bed of a

stream, as either side offers the prospect of better footing; and not unfrequently having to pursue their route, step by step, on stones projecting from the midst of the torrent that crosses the direct line of progress. This devious way, however, is at length amply compensated for by a succession of exceedingly beautiful cascades; the Jumna being here, in several places, joined by tributary streams, tumbling from immense heights, and the precipitous masses of rocks on either side possessing a still greater degree of noble grandeur. Completely shut in by these mountain-ranges, which rise abruptly on both sides of the narrowing stream, the traveller can now only catch occasional glimpses of the snowy peaks beyond. The course of the river is here little more than a mere chasm in the rock, cut and worn by the action of the water in its continuous flow through bygone ages. In some places, the solid masses, on either side, rise almost perpendicular to an extraordinary height, and are occasionally so far overhanging, as to render the opening at the top more narrow than the space below; forming a dark pass—the foliage of trees springing from clefts and shallow beds of earth, meeting at the summit. At each step the path becomes more difficult and laborious: deep pools oblige the traveller to mount to the top of a precipice, and presently to leap down again from before heights too steep to be surmounted; while, at every movement, the danger of being precipitated into the rapid waters, boiling and foaming below, is increased. Then again it becomes necessary to clamber up loose fragments of cliff of a gigantic size, which appear to have been tumbled from above purposely to block the way; and then to scramble through a shifting sea of crumbling stones bedded in quagmire, and exceedingly difficult to pass where trees, that are occasionally laid along to form a pathway, are wanting.

It is not very often that the traveller in the Himalaya will find himself accommodated with such a bridge as the one already described at Bhurkote; and repairs being considered as works of supererogation throughout the greater part of Asia, the chances are strongly against his crossing even that after a very few years of use.

The most common contrivance in the hill districts, when the stream is sufficiently narrow to admit of its employment, is the sangha, the rudest of all rude conceptions of bridge architecture. No one being at the trouble to repair a work that is for the use of every one, these sanghas are usually in an exceedingly perilous condition; and side rails being quite out of the question, the narrow footway, only sufficient to admit of the passage of one traveller at a time, offers a method of crossing a torrent that is neither easy or agreeable. Where two projecting rocks are found facing each other, they are employed as the supports of a couple of fir-trees, the ends resting on either side. Upon these a pathway is constructed of boughs laid transverse, without any fastening or care in the arrangement of them to prevent gaps, or secure a level footpath. So long as the traveller can keep in the centre of this awkward apology for a bridge, he may be tolerably safe; but the moment that he places his foot either to the right or to the left, he is in danger of being precipitated into the torrent below, by the bough on which he is treading tilting up at the opposite end. Persons possessing the very steadiest head, find their nerves severely tried in these difficult passes: few can look upon the impetuous current beneath them, and preserve any accuracy of vision: the best plan, therefore, is to fix the eyes upon some object on the opposite side, and to walk firmly and steadily along, since there is neither parapet nor guiding rail; and, in a high wind, the frail bridge is so fearfully swayed, that even the mountaineers themselves refuse to cross it. Many accidents, of course, occur; and, as not only men, but baggage of various kinds is occasionally conveyed across, it would be surprising if they did not. The Mussulman servants and Hindoos from the plains, who attend the tourists upon these excursions, look upon the tottering expedient with undisguised horror; and nothing but a sense of shame, and the fear of ridicule, can induce them to make an attempt to cross.

It is not every European who sallies from the hill-stations on an exploring expedition, that fulfils his original intentions: many find the difficulties and dangers of the enterprise too great to be compensated by the mere beauties of the landscape; and turn back—some on the very threshold of the undertaking, and others before they have proceeded half-way. Long ere the point to which the travellers have now attained is reached, they will be obliged to dispense with their ponies and jhampans—the greater and most perilous portion of the journey being necessarily performed on foot.

As the source of the Jumna is approached, the cold is frequently excessive, the

thermometer, in the shade, being below the freezing point; but the exertion necessary to progress is generally of a nature to render the state of the temperature of little moment. The glen of the Jumna now becomes narrower and darker at every step, and the precipices, on either side, more steep, more lofty, and of a still more awful character. The Brahmins, who never fail to derive some advantage from their distinctive calling, here volunteer their services as cicerones; the coolies who accompany the tourists, having got so far, will of course now determine to avail themselves of the crowning advantages of the pilgrimage; and a numerous train of fakeers, hunting in pack to participate in the great present anticipated by the chief Brahmin, from the *burra buxies*, generally swell out the train of the European travellers, who, in their further progress, must emulate the monkeys as they scramble on hands and knees, with every contortion of body, while clinging and climbing the very steepest ascent that it is possible for human beings to surmount. Upon gaining a breathing-place, they will presently find themselves upon a spot accounted eminently holy, as being the portal of the sacred source of the Jumna. A small shrine or temple, dedicated to Bhyram Jhee, and called Bhyram Ghati, is erected at this spot. A Brahmin is in perpetual attendance, and signifies his watchfulness by continually striking upon a bell. The prospect from Bhyram Ghati is surpassingly grand: being immediately above the glen of the river, the lofty ridges that enclose it can be traced nearly as far as the plains: immediately opposite, bare and bleak precipices arise, rearing their lofty and sterile peaks to an astonishing height; while, to the north-east, the western angle of Bundapooch stands out glittering in its snowy mantle; and, nearly in front, immense masses of frozen snow—amongst which the infant Jumna is cradled—are piled in majestic grandeur.

Whilst recovering breath, and enjoying the glorious prospect, the devotees of the party usually employ themselves in gathering an offering for the shrine, from the flowers that adorn the wild and desolate spot. The difficulties of the approach evidently precluded the pious architects of this place from any great attempt at ornament; and the altar is, consequently, of a very rude description, being a mere collection of loose stones, put clumsily together, and enclosing a few idols of most wretched workmanship. And yet to *these* men bow! Strange it is, that having so grand a shrine, so wonderful a temple, made by the Deity himself in the midst of the sublimest portion of his creations, man should disregard the fitness of the scene for that instinctive homage which the least religiously inclined Christian would offer to the mighty Author of the surrounding wonders, and blindly stoop to adore the misshapen works of his own feeble and ill-employed hands.

FALLS OF THE JUMNA.

The glen of the Jumna—a deep and winding valley, sunk amidst a most chaotic confusion of mountains—is inconceivably wild and grand throughout the whole of its course to the plains. In many places the river struggles through narrow passages, formed by the angles which project into its bed; and the torrent, when circumscribed in places scarcely twenty feet wide, boils and foams so fearfully, that to gaze upon it causes the brain to whirl, and sight and sense would probably fail if contemplated for many minutes without strong assurance of security. A remarkable fall of the river is shown in the accompanying sketch, at a short distance below its source, near the point at which it receives a very considerable tributary stream. The latter may be traced to its mountain birthplace, winding over the rocky platform in graceful, noiseless undulations; its gentle murmurings, together with those of other rivulets speeding to the same point, being lost in the roar of the Jumna, which comes raging and thundering onwards, until it falls with prodigious force into a basin it has formed in the solid rock, whence it again springs in a sea of foam, and pursues its turbulent course towards

the plains, first precipitating its raging torrent down an abyss that yawns frightfully below.

The Jumna flows in a southerly direction through the province of Gurhwal, where, at Kalsee Ghaut, in 30° 30′ N. lat., it is joined by the Tonse; which latter, though a much more considerable stream, loses its name at the point of junction. Notwithstanding the rocks and rapids that impede the course of these rivers, it has been considered possible that timber might be floated down them; an undertaking which, if accomplished, would render the hills immensely profitable to the government or to private speculators, since the surrounding regions are, in many places, so thickly covered, that one single square mile might furnish timber for a navy; and the growth of an entire mountain, would, it is asserted, suffice for all the navies in the world.

VIEW ABOVE JUMNOOTREE—SOURCE OF THE JUMNA.

By dint of untiring perseverance, and no small exertion of bodily strength, the travellers may at length find themselves on the confines of eternal snow. As they approach Jumnootree, the river is seen gliding under arches of ice, through which it has worn its passage; until at length, these masses having become too hardly frozen to yield and mingle with the current, the stream itself can be no longer traced; and here, therefore, is seen, if not its actual source, at least the first visible stage of its existence. It is rarely possible to suppress emotion at the successful accomplishment of a pilgrimage to a spot so deservedly celebrated, by enterprise that few people have the opportunity of exerting, and still fewer the nerve to undertake; and tourists, therefore, may well congratulate each other on the achievement, when, at last, they stand on the congealed pavement of unsullied snow that is spread before the birthplace of the mountain torrent. The glen at this place is not more than from thirty to forty feet in width, and the rocks on either side are of the noblest dimensions, crowned with dark, luxuriant foliage; while the impracticable region beyond—solemn, majestic, and wonderfully beautiful—seems to proclaim the hopelessness of mortal effort to penetrate the mysteries veiled by its frozen barrier.

The most sacred spot near the source of the river is upon the left bank of the glen, where a mass of quartz and silicious schist rock sends forth five hot springs into the bed of the river, boiling and splashing furiously. When mingled with the icy-cold stream of the Jumna, these smoking springs form a very delightful tepid bath; and pilgrims, after dipping their hands in the hottest part, perform much more agreeable ablutions where the temperature offers a desirable medium between the scalding water above and the chilling stream below. It is usual here with the devotees to make an offering of money to the divinity of the river, which, of course, finds its way to the pouch of the officiating Brahmin, who, in return, prays over the bathers, and marks them on the forehead, in the most orthodox fashion, with the sacred mud of the Jumna.

The height of the snow bed at Jumnootree is about 10,000 feet; and, in the month of October, when a portion of the snow dissolves at this place, it is sometimes possible to advance a little nearer to the real source than at any other period. Crossing to the spot whence the water emerges, is a work of some difficulty; but when accomplished, the infant river is seen divided into three streams, each forming a separate waterfall, and flowing over steep, green hills. The lower of these is surmountable, but not without danger, as the stones are loose, and slip from under the feet. The most direct stream of the river does not arise from any part of Bundapooch, but from the mountain-range that runs off it to the westward. Standing at Jumnootree, these small streams are perceptible before their junction into one fall, which loses itself under a mass of snow, whence it again issues near the hot springs before mentioned.

The forest stretches at least 1,500 feet above the snowy bed of the Jumna, before

vegetation is entirely forbidden by the frosts of the giant heights above. The geologist may make, at Jumnootree, a very interesting collection for his cabinet, as beautiful specimens of garnet, shorl, and tourmaline crystals are found. There is a considerable quantity of talcose gneiss rock; but the greater proportion is a coarse gneiss; while the granite summits of the mountain peaks rise to the height of 10,000 feet above.

After indulging in the gratification which the sublime prospects of this interesting place afford, travellers usually proceed to satisfy some of those cravings of appetite that forcibly recall them to a sense of their terrestrial nature. Fortunately, one of the first duties that a native of India undertakes to perform at a halting-place, is to kindle a fire, and commence preparations for a meal. Such of the Hindoos as bring rice with them, boil it over the hot springs by enclosing it in a cloth, and suspending it at the end of a stick. In the vent of the chief spring, which issues with great force from a fissure in the rock, the temperature of the water is about 194°. Several of these hot springs are found along the course of the Jumna; for which, according to native belief, the world is indebted to the merits of an exceedingly devout Brahmin, who was favoured by the gods with these hot-water fountains for his special use, whenever he found the water of the river too cold for the comfortable performance of his ablutions. At his request, the boon was perpetuated for the benefit of future devotees.

The difficulties likely to be encountered in getting back to Kursalee, are rarely considered previous to the attempt to reach Jumnootree; or the probability is, such attempts would be of rare occurrence, since, practically, they are infinitely more serious than any met with on the approach. In the course of the first day's journey by the downward route, the Jumna has to be crossed more than thirty times: it is also necessary to slide down places previously scrambled up; and to leap gaps that are much more easily passed from the other side. But the retrograde journey is not without its charms. The spots on which the traveller occasionally rests, offer, in their soft loveliness, a pleasing contrast to the rugged horrors of many portions of the scene behind—the beautiful mingling largely with the sublime. Sometimes he is seated upon banks of violets of the richest blue, surrounded by luxuriant vegetation of fruit and flower—the strawberry spreading itself far and wide, and raspberry, blackberry, and black currant bushes forming a perfect garden; while the influence of the scene is exquisitely soothing and refreshing: at another point, the sudden turn of an angle brings the wayfarer in immediate contact with the snow; which, smooth and hard, is unbroken by human tread, and glitters in its unsullied purity: and thus, surrounded by the wild and magnificent scenery of the mountain-ranges, the descent by a new route towards Kursalee is accomplished.

THE JHOOLA, OR ROPE BRIDGE.

Tourists having crossed the various streams and rivers of the mountain districts in, as they imagine, every possible sort of way—that is, by fording, swimming, on the trunk of a tree, by the sangha, or by the commodious structure at Bhurkote—must also be initiated into a new method of getting over a stream by means of the jhoola. The natives perform the operation with great apparent ease: to strangers it is not unaccompanied with difficulty, and occasionally with danger; and the following is the process of crossing the Tonse—a tributary of the Jumna—by the jhoola.

Upon approaching the river, which is too deep to be fordable, it will be seen that the bank on which the travellers stand is considerably higher than that on the opposite side of the river. From this elevated ground a three-stranded rope, about as thick as a man's wrist, is attached to a log of wood secured among the rocks. The rope being then stretched across the river, is passed through the prongs of a fork, or wooden prop, planted firmly in the ground; and being now divided into three strands, is secured to the trunk of a tree, kept in its place by heavy stones. Upon this rope, well twisted and

greased, is placed a semicircular slide of hollowed wood, with two handles, to which a loop is attached. In this novel conveyance the traveller seats himself, and, holding by the handles, is launched from the higher to the lower bank of the river with astonishing celerity; a thin cord at the same time remains attached to the slide, from either side of the river, for the purpose of recovering it, or of pulling the traveller from the lower to the higher bank.

Other jhoolas in the mountains vary a little in their construction: half-a-dozen stout worsted ropes are stretched across the river, and fastened to a projecting buttress on either side. On these ropes runs a block of wood, which is drawn backwards and forwards to either side of the stream, by means of strings attached to it. There are other loops which pass round the body of the passenger, who, thus secured, swings off from the buttress, and is hauled across. In this manner goats and sheep are conveyed one by one; and though the danger appears to be considerable, it is only realised, in fact, by the chance of having to trust to a rope that has seen too much service. If the apparatus be new, and sufficiently strong to bear the weight placed upon it, there is not the least peril in this method of getting across the deep and rapid rivers of the Himalaya: but such a fortunate accident must not always be depended upon; and fatal results have occasionally been produced through the fragile state in which the jhoolas are permitted to remain.

The existence of the river Tonse was not known to Europeans previous to the year 1814. Losing its name in the Jumna (which it trebles in size previous to its junction with that stream), it is one of the most considerable of the mountain-torrents. When it issues from its bed of snow, at an elevation of 12,784 feet above the level of the sea, it flows in a volume thirty feet wide, and three deep—maintaining its dignity of character until its confluence with the river Jumna; which should, if rivers had their just rights, have been considered its tributary, and have borne its name.

GUNGOOTREE, OR GUNGOUTRI—THE SACRED FOUNT OF THE GANGES.

When sufficiently recovered from the fatigue and bruises attendant on the journey to the source of the Jumna, it is not an unusual occurrence for European tourists to arrange an expedition from Kursalee to the springs of the Ganges at Gungootree, in the Himalaya. The shortest route from Kursalee to that place may be traversed in four days; but as it is the most difficult one, the natives always endeavour to dissuade travellers from taking it, recommending, in preference, a lower and more circuitous, but more easily accessible path. The former road leads over an arm of the Bundapooch mountain, which separates the valleys, or rather channels, along which the sacred rivers hurry from their icy birthplace. The greater part of the tract is desert and uninhabited, conducting the wayfarer through regions of rock and snow, destitute of the habitation of man, or of supplies for his use: by this route, also, there is danger that fuel may be wanting for that necessary solace to the weary—a blazing fire; a serious object when the necessity for dispensing with everything like superfluous baggage, obliges the traveller to find shelter for the night as best he can, in caves and clefts of the rocks.

One of the most formidable evils reported of this route, is the *bis-ka-kowa*, or poisonous wind, said to blow over the highest ridge of the mountains, and to bring with it exhalations from noxious plants on the borders—a very natural supposition among a race ignorant of the causes of atmospheric influences at so great an elevation. Having prudently determined upon the longer route, the travellers will proceed on the descent to a village named Nangang, which when, after encountering some slight difficulties, they at length reach, will afford prospects that amply compensate for the inconveniences sustained in the approach to them. Below is spread a rich and cultivated scene; hanging terraces (common to the hills) waving with grain, and watered by

sparkling streams which wind along the bases of high ridges covered with wood, and sometimes shooting up into peaks crowned with foliage. Beyond these, the giant mountains appear in all their sublimity—some having their crests mantled with snow; others clothed with majestic forests of venerable timber; and, again, some bleak, bare, and barren, rising in gloomy majesty from the bosom of green and sunny slopes which smile below them. Between these different ranges are deep ravines, dark with impenetrable forests, and rendered more impressively mysterious by the wild music of the torrents that roar through their hidden depths; while presently their streams issue into open day, and are seen winding round green spots richly covered with fruit-trees and glorious flowers. Such, or nearly such—for every traveller sees them under a different medium, and from a varied point of observation—are the prospects which beguile the tourists as they slip, rather than walk, down the almost precipitous side of the mountain. Nangang forms the first halting-place on the route to Gungootree; to reach which several days' march have yet to be endured, with more mountains to climb—more forests to thread—more rocky streams to ford. A diversity in the timber is now apparent; the tree most abundant being the chesnut, of which there are here many of most magnificent growth. Plenty of game is found at this elevation; among which is the monal, a feathered wonder of the Himalaya; and several varieties of the pheasant tribe, which flutter amongst these vast solitudes, and often pay welcome tribute to the guns of invading strangers.

On the line of march from Nangang, several delightful halting-places are reached—grassy terraces carpeted with strawberry-plants and wild flowers; amongst which the cowslip, the primrose, and the buttercup, unite to recall vivid thoughts of fields at home. Leaving this luxuriant vegetation, the road approaches the summit of a ridge covered with snow, and presenting the appearance of a spot hemmed in on all sides with thick-ribbed ice—vast, chilling, and impassable. Emerging from this semblance of an arctic prison, the path descends through the snow to the boundary line between the districts of the Jumna and the Ganges. The extreme limits of these river territories are marked in the manner usually adopted in rude and desolate places, by huge heaps of stone, many of which have been collected together by Europeans, who have sought thus to commemorate their pilgrimage and their success.

The next point of great interest is the summit of a ridge whence the first view of the Ganges is obtained; a sight which never fails to raise the drooping spirits of the Hindoo followers, and excites no small degree of enthusiasm in the breasts of European travellers also. The sacred river, as seen from this height, flows in a dark, rapid, and broad stream; and though apparently at no great distance, must still be reached by several toilsome marches. From a height about two miles above Gungootree, the first glimpse is obtainable of that holy place, which lies sequestered in a glen of the deepest solitude—lonely, and almost inaccessible to man; for few there are who persevere in surmounting the difficulties of the approach. A considerable distance has now to be traversed over projecting masses of rough stones—flinty, pointed, and uncertain; many being loose, and threatening to roll over the enterprising individual who seeks a foothold amongst them. Sometimes the face of the rocks has to be climbed from cliff to cliff; at others, where there is no resting-place for hand or foot, ladders, formed of notched trees, are placed in aid of the ascent; while awful chasms, and precipitous ravines, are only crossed by some frail spar, flung loosely across from side to side. These frightful rocks might suffice to form insurmountable obstacles to any invasion of the holy place; but religious enthusiasm on the one hand, and scientific research, stimulated by curiosity, on the other, render the barrier inadequate for the purpose of resisting the efforts of man. The difficult nature of the access, however, prevents any great concourse of pilgrims, whose less fervent, devotional requirements may be satisfied by resorting to altars more easily attainable upon the lower stream of the hallowed river.

The grandeur of the scene that opens upon the travellers as they at last stand upon the threshold of Gungootree, cannot be described by words. Rocks piled upon rocks in awful grandeur, their summits broken into points, and rising upon one another in indescribable confusion, enclose a glen of the wildest character; at the extremity of which the mighty Ganges—beautiful in its every haunt, from its birthplace to its junction with the ocean—pours its infant waters over a bed of shingle, diversified by jutting

rocks, and even here shadowed by the foliage of some fine old trees. The devotee—who undoubtingly believes that every step he has taken towards the source of the holy river which, from his childhood, he has been taught to look upon as a deity, will lead him towards eternal beatitude—seldom terminates his pilgrimage at Gungootree, because the true source of the stream is actually to be found much higher in the mountains, and amidst solitudes still less accessible to man. Stimulated by the fervour of religious zeal, or goaded forward by the ever-craving requirements of science, these silent recesses have, however, been invaded; and the true birthplace of the Ganges no longer remains a mystery to the world.

Long before the commencement of the present century, the upward course of the Ganges had been traced, by Hindoo devotees, to the great range of the Himalaya; and it was believed by them to have its origin in a vast and inaccessible lake, far north of that chain, through which it passed by a subterraneous passage into India. The opening whence it issued on the south side of the mountains, was called by the pilgrims Gangoutri, or the Cow's Mouth—an appellation it still retains. The portion of the river supposed to be on the north side of the range, had been approached at some remote period by Lama surveyors of Thibet; but their researches terminated at a ridge of mountains that skirt the south and west of the Lama's territory, and all that intervened between that point and Gungoutri was purely conjectural. A few years since, scientific and political reasons combined to induce the government of Bengal to depute Captain Hodgson, of the 10th native infantry, to survey the upper portion of the Ganges; and that officer, in pursuit of his mission, on the 31st of May, 1817, descended to the bed of the river, and saw the Ganges issue from a low arch at the foot of a vast bed of frozen snow. It was bounded on each side by rocks; but in the front, over the *debouche*, the mass was nearly perpendicular; and from the river to the surface the height was above 300 feet. From the brow of this curious *façade* of snow, which lay in distinct layers, as if marking each accumulating year, numerous large and hoary icicles were suspended. The width of the stream was about twenty-seven feet, and its depth from ten to eighteen inches; the height of the arch being barely sufficient to let the water pass from its cavernous recess. The altitude of the spot was computed at 12,914 feet above the level of the sea; and the height of an adjoining peak, which Captain Hodgson called St. George, was estimated at 22,240 feet.

A pilgrimage to Gungootree is accounted one of the most meritorious actions that a Hindoo can perform; and, in commemoration of a visit to this holy place, some pious Goorka chieftain has left a memorial of his achievement and his devotion in a small pagoda, erected, in honour of the deity of the place, on a platform of rock, about twenty feet higher than the bed of the river. The Brahmins who have the care of this temple, are accommodated with habitations in its close vicinity; and there are a few sheds for the temporary residence of pilgrims, many of whom, however, are content with such shelter as the neighbouring caves afford. The usual ceremonies of bathing, praying, and marking the forehead, are religiously observed at this place; the officiating Brahmin taking care that the fees are duly paid. Notwithstanding the stern and solitary nature of his retreat, at some periods of the year he may be said to lead a busy life—conversing with devout pilgrims, and carriers of the sacred water to distant lands, who require the authentication of his seal to verify the purity of their much-coveted burdens.

Like all the large rivers of the torrid, and the adjacent parts of the temperate zones, the Ganges is subject to periodical inundations, both from the melting of the snow on the southern declivities of the Himalaya, and from the heavy rains that fall during the monsoons.

KHANDOO, ON THE ASCENT TO THE CHOOR.

The Choor is the most lofty eminence belonging to the secondary Himalaya, running south of the great snowy range; and, from whatever point it may be seen, forms a grand

and prominent object, towering majestically towards the skies, amid a host of satellites. Progressing from the south-east, the road conducts to the village of Khandoo, situated about 9,000 feet above the level of the sea. The principal building in this village is a religious edifice, occupying the right in the engraving, and differs little in character from the generality of temples dedicated to the numerous idols of the Himalaya. It is rather more lofty than the rest of the houses; the cornices are decorated with a fringe of wooden pendants, and the timber employed in its construction is elaborately carved. Generally it is not difficult for European travellers, in want of such accommodation, to obtain a lodging in the outer vestibule of a temple; but at Khandoo, and some other places, the villagers will not permit the holy shrines to be thus desecrated. Their religious worship chiefly consists in offerings of flowers, sweetmeats, and grain, upon the altars, with occasional saltatory exhibitions, when the deities are exhibited to the people for adoration.

In the inferior ranges of these hills, the leopard, and other mountain cats, are very common; and the hyena is also frequently found; but the great potentate of the Himalaya forests and fastnesses, is the bear. This monster attains a great size, and would be very formidable were he as bold as he is savage; which, fortunately for tourists, he is not. The scenery of this portion of the mountains is of superlative loveliness, and the traveller wanders, without effort, among shady and secluded dells, sheltered from the sun by overhanging rocks, festooned with ivy and creepers, and diversified by clumps of holly and wild cherry. Now he enters an open space of greensward, surrounded by patches of wild rose—scenting the fairy dell with their delicious perfume; while a little silvery stream bubbles from the rocks above, and meanders over the elastic turf—its course defined by belts of violets and cowslips, and ferns of every variety, which dance gracefully in the breeze, and lave their feathered heads in the tiny wave as it sparkles on its way to join a sister streamlet, and mingle with the distant torrent.

VILLAGE OF ROGHERA, NEAR THE CHOOR.

This pretty and picturesque village is distinguished for the remarkable height and luxuriance of a species of larch, which botanists designate as the *pinus deodora*. The group represented in the accompanying engraving affords a good specimen of the character of this fine tree, which attains an almost incredible height in some parts of the hill districts—the tallest of those delineated measuring 160 feet; but it is asserted, that some are to be found 180 feet in height.

The Choor mountain, from its great altitude and peculiar situation, presents every variety of vegetation that mountainous regions afford; and it is scarcely necessary to proceed further to become thoroughly acquainted with the leafy products of the hills of Hindoostan. The bases of the mountains are carpeted with flowers, anemones, and ranunculuses, mingling with the violet, the cowslip, and the daisy; while the forest scenery is rich and luxuriant to the highest degree. The rhododendon, with its profuse and brilliant scarlet blossoms, is succeeded by oak, walnut, birch, elm, and, lastly, pines. The highest of the two peaks of the mountain being covered for a considerable part of the year with snow, is destitute of verdure; and the lower one, composed of immense granite blocks, is also bare of trees. Where the snow has melted, it reveals stunted shrubs of juniper and currant; but a little lower down, at an elevation of 11,500 feet, the most splendid pines in the world rear their majestic heads. The ferns of these ranges are peculiarly beautiful, and in great variety; while fruits of every kind abound.

THE CHOOR MOUNTAIN.

The height of the loftiest peak of this magnificent mountain is ascertained to be 12,149 feet above the level of the sea, being the most considerable of the range south of the Himalaya, between the Sutlej and Jumna rivers. From its commanding position, it separates and turns the waters of Hindoostan, the streams rising on the southern and eastern face being forced into the direction of the Pabar, the Giree, the Tonse, and the Jumna, which find their way over the great plain into the bay of Bengal; while those that have their sources to the north and the west, are forced towards the Sutlej and the Indus, and, uniting in the last, pour their waters into the Arabian sea. During a great part of the year, the Choor is hoary with snow; and, in bad weather, intense cold is experienced at a considerable distance below the highest peak. Travellers will here find themselves in a region of ice; and, when the scene is lighted up by the rising moon, may be charmed by the novel effect produced by floods of molten silver, which shed their soft radiance over the carpet of stainless snow. Moonlight—ever beautiful—amid these snowy masses assumes a new and more exquisite form of enchantment. The rugged peaks, stern and chilling as they are, lose their awful character, and become resplendent as polished pearl: the trees, covered with pendant icicles, seem formed of glittering spar; and the face of nature being thus wholly and beautifully changed, imagination suggests to the contemplative mind the presence of another world—beautiful, calm, and tranquil; but cold, still, and deathlike. From such a dream, however, the storms that frequently rage through these solitudes will rudely awaken the enthusiast by suddenly destroying the serenity of the landscape, which, in an instant, becomes enveloped in clouds that, upon some capricious change of the atmosphere, again roll away like a drawn curtain, and reveal the cold, bright, and pearly region beyond. To be overtaken by a snow-storm in crossing the Choor, is one of the least agreeable incidents of a tour amidst the hills; but such frequently happens to be the fate of travellers in these regions.

In a recent instance, some tourists had proceeded satisfactorily thus far; but their journey was not completed without a fair share of the vicissitudes of travel. While marching rather wearily along, the aspect of the heavens changed—the clouds darkened—and, presently, down came a heavy storm of hail, followed by a dense fall of snow. On seeking their tents, they were found bending beneath the flaky burden, which also lay several feet in thickness upon the ground; while no wood could be procured without immense difficulty. Having no fire, there could be no cooking; and the night was passed in a miserably freezing condition by the whole party. Morning dawned only to show a fresh fall of snow, and a prospect of more; for if the fleecy shower ceased for a few minutes, the change merely developed a sullen black canopy above, threatening to overwhelm everything with its gathered burden; but the adverse elements were not the only obstacles to enjoyment. Loud rose the cries of mutiny in the camp of the adventurous travellers; many were the groans of their followers (the native coolies), who did not scruple to vent their feelings in expressive, but fortunately unintelligible, language; while some Mohammedan servants, paralysed and aghast at a predicament so new to them, looked unutterable things. As long as the snow lasted, there was no possibility of doing anything to effect an improvement in the wretched condition of the party, patience being the only alternative from suffering; which it was folly to attempt to teach men dragged into so disagreeable a dilemma against their own consent. The wind all this time continued to blow intensely cold and sharp, adding materially to the sufferings of the unfortunate half-clad native servants; but at length, about noon, the clouds began to break away, and to reveal patches of blue sky, and most welcome glimpses of sunshine: in another hour the heavens became clear and genial, and then some efforts were made to render the situation more endurable. Persuasion, threats, and tempting offers of reward, lavishly distributed, at length induced the half-frozen followers to bestir themselves in real earnest. Having braced their energies to the encounter, and procured sufficient fuel, fires once more blazed in the camp; and though the cold was still severe, its bitterness was alleviated by the influence of the warm potations that were

gratefully imbibed, and cheerfulness pervaded the encampment, until sound and refreshing sleep obliterated all recollection of the storm.

The weather still continuing to improve, the travellers rose in the morning with renovated spirits; and notwithstanding the fierce intensity of the cold, and the difficulties which the large masses of snow encumbering the path threw in their way, they proceeded vigorously onward, sometimes sinking to the waist, and at all times knee-deep in snow, which, concealing the danger of a road over rough and unseen blocks of granite, frequently threatened to precipitate them into some abyss in which life or limb would be perilled. The servants, loaded with baggage, lagged far behind on their unwelcome journey; and their masters were obliged to be content, the following night, with a sort of canvas awning rather than a tent (as only a portion of the latter was forthcoming), and to make a scanty meal of tea and hastily-kneaded cakes of flour.

The servants who had accompanied them from the plains looked upon these occasions as the very images of despair; they were completely at fault, knowing not what to do in so unaccustomed a difficulty, and feeling utterly incapacitated for exertion by the effects of the frost, which shot bolts of ice into their hearts, and froze the very current in their veins. It was impossible not to sympathise with them in their distress as they lay upon the cold ground, when it was recollected how active those same men had been during the burning hot winds, which peeled the skin from the European face, and obliged every one not habituated to an Indian sun to seek shelter from its scorching influence.

JERDAIR.

The small and obscure village of Jerdair stands upon the slope of a mountain in the province of Ghurwal—a tract of country extending, on the north-east, to the summit of the Himalaya; on the north-west to the banks of the Sutlej; and bounded on the east and south by the province of Delhi. The general aspect of the country is exceedingly mountainous, and difficult of cultivation; yet parts of it are tolerably fertile; and, though now but thinly peopled, Ghurwal retains the vestiges of mighty works, the achievements of former possessors of the soil. The sides of many of its hills exhibit a succession of terraces, of very solid construction; and upon the surfaces thus produced, water necessary for the cultivation of rice is still retained. Several branches of the Ganges flow through the valleys of this highly picturesque country, which is regarded with peculiar veneration by the people of Hindoostan, in consequence of its containing the holy ground from which the waters of the true Ganges issue into open light. Formerly this province comprehended all the territory extending to Hurdwar, and stretched eastward to the borders of Nepaul: it is now restricted within much narrower limits.

Notwithstanding its extreme elevation, the climate of Ghurwal, owing to its south-western aspect, is very mild; and though the site of the village of Jerdair presents little more than a bleak and barren waste, the greater part of the province is richly clothed with trees. In many places the productions of the temperate and the torrid zones meet and mingle: the tiger makes his lair upon the confines of eternal snow; and the elephant is enabled to endure the severity of the climate by a provision of nature unknown to animals of his species in warmer latitudes—namely, by a shaggy covering of hair.

The inhabitants of Jerdair, like those of the province generally, are termed Khayasa; and all boast descent from Rajpoots of the highest *caste*, and are therefore exceedingly scrupulous in their eating, and in their regard for the sacred cow. They will not sell one of those animals except upon assurance that the purchaser will neither kill it himself, nor suffer it to be killed by another: their prejudices prevent them from keeping

poultry; and travellers must bring sheep with them for food, or be content to live on fish and game, both of which are exceedingly abundant.

Many of the views of mountain scenery which open as the footpaths wind round projecting points, are magnificently sublime. The high ledges of the rock are the haunts of the chamois, and eagles have their eyries on hoary peaks, inaccessible to the depredations of man. Ghurwal is celebrated for a peculiar breed of ponies, called "ghoouts"—rough, stunted, and shaggy, but exceedingly sure-footed, and well adapted to carry a traveller in safety along the dizzy verge of narrow pathways, from which the eye endeavours in vain to penetrate the darkness of the abyss below.

GRASS-ROPE BRIDGE AT TEREE.

The village of Teree, in the province of Ghurwal, is a small and insignificant place, distinguished only by the romantic scenery that surrounds it, and its bridge, which, suspended in mid-air, throws a graceful festoon over the rapid and rock-bound stream below.

Suspension-bridges, formed of grass ropes—the simple and elegant invention of the rude mountaineers of the Himalaya—are of great antiquity in the provinces where they are found, and may be supposed to have given the original hint for the chain-bridges of Europe. The bridge at Teree is a beautiful specimen of its class, the adjacent scenery on either side of the river, adding much to its picturesque effect. In some of the hill districts, where the natural advantages of the country are not so great, the bridge is suspended from scaffolds erected on both banks of the stream. Over these are stretched ropes of great thickness, to afford on each side a support for the flooring, which is formed of a ladder, wattled with twigs and branches of trees, and attached to the balustrade by pendent ropes. The main ropes are extremely slack, and, where the banks are not very high, the centre of the bridge is sometimes within a foot of the water; but even at this trifling altitude, the danger from immersion is very great, since the current of the mountain streams runs with such impetuosity, that the best swimmer would find considerable difficulty in effecting a safe landing. The ropes of the bridge at Teree are constructed from the long coarse grass which grows on the sides of the hills; each is about the size of a small hawser, and is formed with three strands. They are obliged to be renewed constantly; and even when in their best condition, the passage across is, from its altitude, rather a perilous undertaking. Some very melancholy accidents have occurred to European visitors upon the fragile bridges among the hill districts.

But there are still more extraordinary methods resorted to by the natives who reside near Rampoor, on the banks of the Sutlej. The river at this place is about 200 feet broad, and, during the summer months, is crossed by a jhoola or swing bridge, which is erected in May, and is usually employed until the early part of September; after which time there is no bridge, but the passage across the river is effected upon the hide of a buffalo or bullock, inflated with air, on which a single person, together with the ferryman, can be conveyed. The latter throws himself on his breast athwart the skin, and directs its course by the rapid action of his feet in the water, assisted by a paddle three feet in length, which he holds in his right hand. He thus crosses the stream with ease; but it is sometimes necessary to launch two or three skins together, in order more effectually to stem the force of the current. The passenger by this conveyance sits astride the back of the ferryman, resting his legs on the skin; and the tail and legs of the bullock being left entire, serve to support and prevent him from being wetted. There is some danger of the bursting of the skin, in which event the passenger finds himself in a disagreeable predicament; for the velocity of the current is so great, and the river so full of rocks, that an expert swimmer would hardly succeed in reaching

the shore. When natives of rank desire to cross the river during the season that the jhoola is relieved from duty, a commodious seat is improvised by lashing two or more skins together, and then placing a charpoy, or common bedstead, across them; which, although not very dignified in appearance, is always found to answer the purpose for which it is designed.

The province of Ghurwal chiefly consists of an assemblage of hills in close contiguity, the distance between each range being exceedingly circumscribed, and not a spot is to be seen that would afford room for an encampment of 1,000 men. Some of the ranges are covered with wood, and wear an aspect of eternal verdure; among them, the arbutus and other flowering trees attain to great perfection, and the polyandria monogynia, which grows to the height of forty feet, and loads the air with most fragrant perfume. In other places, ridges of bare rock are piled upon each other; and the whole is wild, broken, and overrun with jungle. There is but little cultivation, and the revenues of the province have always been inconsiderable.

It is reported by a native writer, that the district, in consequence of its poverty, was for many years exempted from tribute. Akbar, however, not being willing that any of his neighbours should escape a mulct, demanded from the chief of Ghurwal an account of the revenues of his raj, and a chart of the country. The rajah being then at court, repaired to the presence the following day; and, in obedience to the imperial command, presented a true but not very tempting report of the state of his finances; and, as a correct representative of the chart of his country, facetiously introduced a lean camel, saying—"This is a faithful picture of the territory I possess—up and down, and very poor." The emperor smiled at the ingenuity of the device, and told him, that from the revenue of a country realised with so much labour, and in amount so small, he had nothing to demand. The province, however, subsequently paid an annual tribute of 25,000 rupees.

JUBBERAH.

The village of Jubberah lies to the north of the Mussooree and Marma ridges, on the route from the latter to the source of the Jumna. The hills at this place have the regular Himalaya character—a three-quarter perpendicular slope to a hollow, whence abruptly a similar eminence rises. From the summit of a neighbouring promontory may be obtained one of those striking views which so much delight the lovers of the picturesque; but which, though they fill the bosom with strange and thrilling sensations, are unfitted for canvas. The pure white pyramid of one of the highest of the snowy range, towers in bold relief to the clear heaven, which it seems to touch, contrasting grandly with the dark hills in front; yet with a transition so abrupt, that persons who never beheld so novel an effect, would fancy the attempt to pourtray it as some eccentric whim of the artist. A very common remark applies peculiarly to the scenery of the Himalaya—namely, that the most usual Oriental sky is often thought to be an exaggeration when its mellow beauty is represented on canvas or paper; and yet, in reality, no painting can afford a just idea of its glory.

The skies of England, though not without their charms, and producing occasionally some fine effects, do not suggest the slightest notion of this mountain hemisphere, with its extraordinary variety of colours—its green and scarlet evenings, and noon-day skies of mellow purple, edged at the horizon with a hazy straw colour. It is impossible, in fact, to travel through the Himalaya without perpetually recurring to the rich and changeful hues of its skies; every day some hitherto unnoticed state of the atmosphere producing some new effect. This is particularly the case at dawn; for while the lower world is immersed in the deepest shade, the splintered points of the highest ranges, which first catch the golden ray, assume a luminous appearance, flaming like crimson lamps along

the heavens; and as yet they seem not to belong to earth, all below being involved in impenetrable gloom. As daylight advances, the whole of the chain flushes with a deeper hue—the grand forms of the nearer mountains emerge, and night slowly withdrawing her veil, a new enchantment pervades the scene: the effects of the lights and shadows are now not less beautiful than astonishing, as they define distant objects with a degree of sharpness and accuracy that is almost inconceivable. Until the sun is high up in the heavens, the lower ranges of the mountains appear to be of the deepest purple hue; while other summits, tipped with gold, start out from their dark background in bold and splendid relief. A new and sublime variety is also afforded when a storm is gathering at the base of the snowy chain; and dark rolling volumes of clouds, spreading themselves over the face of nature, impart an awful character to the scene.

One of the most delightful spots in the vicinity of Jubberah, is found on a rocky platform, scooped by the hand of nature, in the precipitous side of a lofty mountain. Above the level, crag has piled itself on crag, the interstices being clothed with luxuriant foliage: from the rifts in the sides of the mountain, forest trees lift their spreading branches to extraordinary heights; while below, creepers, of countless variety and exquisite beauty, fling their garlands and festoons in graceful undulations over the ground. In front of this platform are a chaotic confusion of hills, some separated from the rest by deep and narrow ravines; while others run off into long ridges, whose ramifications are interminable.

VIEW AT DEOBUN.

Travellers in the Himalaya must early accustom themselves to the most dangerous and slippery means of crossing the deep ravines or mountain torrents that it is possible for man, in an artificial state, to imagine; and the bridge represented in the accompanying plate, over a tremendous rocky chasm at Deobun, is one of the expedients for getting over a difficulty that seems almost as much fraught with peril as the abyss it spans. Habituated from infancy to the sight of the steepest and most formidable precipices in the world, the mountaineers of the Himalaya are indifferent to circumstances that produce giddiness in the heads of those who may have hitherto traversed comparatively level ground. The cattle of these mountains, also, guided by some extraordinary instinct, can make their way in safety over the frail and slippery bridges which at some places span rapid streams, and, at others, are thrown across deep ravines. Morning and evening the flocks and herds may be seen passing the narrow footways; and, accustomed to their daily path, they will cross to their distant pastures, or to their way home, without any human being to direct them. To the great difficulty of communication that exists in the hill districts, it is possible the low intellectual state of the mountaineers of the Himalaya may, perhaps, in a great measure be attributed.

Living in isolated circles, apart from each other, and separated by frightful precipices or gloomy ravines, the people of the hills have little opportunity for acquiring information by any interchange of ideas with their neighbours, and they grovel on through life without an effort to improve their condition, or a desire to increase the facilities of access to the adjoining districts; and the number of Europeans who visit the hills for health or amusement, is too small to effect much in the way of example, except in the immediate vicinity of the stations which they have themselves established.

THE VILLAGE OF MOHUNA.

The village of Mohuna is situated upon a high ridge in the secondary Himalaya, stretching between the Tonse and the Jumna, which, at this place, is called Deobun, and gives its name to a tract lying to the north-westward of Landour. The ridge itself is characterised by many of the beauties peculiar to these mountain streams, and presents a succession of rugged rocks piled gaudly upon each other, entwined with lichens and creepers of every kind and hue, and affording, at intervals, large clefts, whence spring the giant wonders of the soil—magnificent trees of immense growth and redundant foliage.

The lofty, precipitous, and almost inaccessible rocks above the village, are the favourite haunts of the musk-deer, a denizen of these mountains, and highly prized by hunters, who recklessly scale the apparently insurmountable crags, and risk life and limb to secure this scarce and much-coveted species of game. English sportsmen in the hills often obtain a fair shot at the animal; but the natives have another and surer method of securing the prize. No sooner is a musk-deer espied, than the people of the nearest village are informed of the fact, and the whole population being interested in the intelligence, it is conveyed with extraordinary celerity through the hills. The country being thus up, a cordon is formed round the destined victim; heights are climbed that appear to be perfectly impracticable; and men are to be seen perched like eagles upon the steepest points and pinnacles. The moment that the whole party have taken up their position, the assault is commenced by hurling down large fragments of stone; and presently, the shouts and cries of the hunters so bewilder the affrighted animal, that he knows not where to run. Meantime he is wounded—the ring closes round him—he seeks in vain for some opening, and, in the desperation of his terror, would plunge down the first abyss; but there, also, he is met by horrid shouts; while, struck to the earth by some overpowering blow, he sinks to rise no more. The musk-deer are seldom met with lower than 8,000 feet above the level of the sea; and every attempt to keep them alive in a state of captivity has failed.

The natives of these districts are generally goodnatured and obliging, and may be easily managed by kindness: the women are particularly attentive to the Europeans who wander among the mountains, and are said to manifest a very amiable consideration for their comforts.

VALLEY OF THE DHOON.

To the European tourist unsatiated by previous wanderings among the wild and magnificent scenery of the Himalaya, the varied and extensive views obtained from the Mussooree hills, afford daily sources of healthy and picturesque enjoyment. Among these heights, rugged and sometimes intricate footpaths conduct to points from whence the range of vision embraces romantic glens and amphitheatres of rocks, scattered over the beautiful valley of Deyrah Dhoon, which stretches out in the distance, intersected by the Ganges, pursuing its course towards the plains in devious windings that occasionally burst into sight, and glitter in the sunlike streams of molten silver. Beyond this, the eye ranges boundlessly over space, the distance being softened into the tint of the atmosphere, and rendering it impossible to distinguish the line of horizon that separates the heavens from the earth.

The close vicinity of the valleys of Kearda and Deyrah Dhoon to Mussooree, renders the latter station particularly eligible for parties who seek excitement in the pursuit of

tigers. The surrounding forests abound with bears, leopards, and wild elephants; but they live in comparative safety, since the coverts are so heavy, and so completely cut up by deep and precipitous ravines, that they are inaccessible to the mounted sportsman. Lower down, however, where the tiger chiefly roams, elephants may be brought against the tawny monarch of the wilds. A *battue* of this kind, when there are several elephants in the field, and a proportionate number of scouts and beaters, affords a wild and animated picture, in strict keeping with the jungle scenery. The adventures of a small party of Europeans from Mussooree, in connection with a tiger hunt in this locality, are always a source of interest; and the story of one expedition of the kind may be described in illustration of the fact.

When arranging for a field-day among the denizens of the jungle, men are sent forward upon the look-out, to take their position upon the trees near the appointed scene of action, being thus, by their elevation and experience, enabled to give information of the whereabout of the animal sought for; which though often charging with great spirit when first aroused, generally endeavours to change its original quarters for a lair of greater security. The Europeans referred to, having received intelligence that three tigers had taken possession of a particular spot, proceeded to beat down the banks of a ravine for several hours, without finding any trace of them, and were beginning to suspect they had been misinformed, when, coming to a patch of very tall jungle-grass, they stumbled upon the remains of a bullock, half-eaten, and exhibiting unmistakable indications that the *gourmand* had not long risen from his meal; thus affording hopes that the unexpected and unwelcome visitors were at no great distance from his after-dinner retreat. Advancing, accordingly, through the jungle, the leading elephant presently began the peculiar kind of trumpeting which indicates uneasiness, and plainly showed that the intruders were not far from the object of their search; besides which, several deer had started off about 300 yards in advance of the party, in evident terror—affording another indication of proximity to the animal sought for. At length a distant view of an enormous tiger was caught, as he endeavoured to cross a ravine; and one of the party fired at him a long shot, which only had the effect of accelerating his pace. The elephants now pushed on; two more shots were fired, and suddenly the tiger fled across an open space in front of his pursuers, who followed as rapidly as possible, crossing and crashing through the bed of a nullah, to which the animal had betaken himself. While thus in full chase, two fresh tigers got up growling angrily, almost under the feet of the sportsmen; and, after the discharge of a few shots, haughtily and slowly retired to cover. Presently the glare of an eye piercing through some brushwood betrayed the retreat of one of the monsters; and a ball, aimed with excellent precision, passing through his brain, he fell without an effort to resent the insult offered to him in his native haunts. The second tiger was also dispatched in a very short time, though it took several shots to stretch him on the ground; but the third was still abroad, and apparently as yet unhurt. Upon arousing him for the third time, the brute went off again in good style, but considerably ahead. At length a long shot from a rifle struck him, and the infuriated animal turned and charged his assailants gallantly, fortunately offering too fair a mark to be missed by them; and thus, just as he crouched to spring upon the foremost elephant, a well-aimed bullet stopped its career, and it fell lifeless. On that day the party returned to their camp in great triumph, with three royal tigers borne by the baggage elephants, and presenting a cavalcade that Landseer might not have thought unworthy of his pencil.

On the following day the same persons proceeded along the Dhoon, without any intention of looking for tigers, but with a hope to obtain some deer on their way. While beating some lemon-bushes, to their great surprise an immense tiger broke cover, and went off before they could get him within range. A considerable space of open country, interspersed with swamps, and bounded by a thick forest, formed the hunting-ground on this occasion; and the success of the sport depended on their turning the animal before he could reach the forest: the pedestrians of the party were therefore directed to climb the trees, and to shout with all the power of their lungs if the tiger approached their stations. Meantime the animal had been lost sight of; but his pursuers were guided to the vicinity of his lair by a flock of vultures perched upon a tree—a

tolerably sure indication that the royal larder was at no great distance. The cover here was exceedingly heavy, and great difficulty was sustained in beating; but, after some time, a sudden glimpse of a tawny stripe through the jungle-grass, gave assurance that the search had not been in vain. The elephants now began to trumpet forth their apprehensions with increased vigour, but the hunters pushed forward, being warned, by the shouts of the people in the trees, that the tiger was making for the forest. Turned at all points, the creature doubled back, and got into a long narrow strip of high jungle-grass, which was separated from a dense wood on the right by about twenty yards of bare bank, and divided from the heavy covers he had abandoned by a pool of clear water. The sportsmen immediately beat up this strip, leaving an elephant on the bank to prevent a retreat to the forest. Presently the tiger got up about 200 yards ahead, and again doubling back, one of the party had a fair shot, which brought him on his haunches, until another ball made him move off to some broken ground, where he took up his last position. As the party advanced, the noble animal was seen in the grandeur of his rage, lashing his tail, roaring, and grinding his teeth, preparatory to a charge; and, on firing again at him, the provocation was complete, and his rage became furious. With a roar that made the whole dell echo, he sprang forward upon the party, the whole of whom fired simultaneously, and the splendid animal fell lifeless at the very feet of the elephants.

THE CITY AND FORTRESS OF NAHUN.

The city of Nahun is situated forty-six miles north-west of Saharunpoor, and is the capital of the small province or raj of Sirmoor. The place, though small, is considered one of the best designed and handsomely built cities in India, and is approached through a very picturesque, well-watered, and finely-wooded valley, which the city, from its position on the summit of a rock, commands. The country round about is intersected with valleys and ravines, clothed in the richest luxuriance of foliage and verdure; the Deyrah Dhoon stretching out in the distance to the south-east, and the comparatively low belts of hills in the neighbourhood affording very pleasing specimens of mountain scenery. The road leading to the town is exceedingly steep and narrow, and is cut in a precipitous ascent, which, however, is surmountable by elephants, even when encumbered by baggage. On entering the place, the streets have the semblance of stairs, so numerous are the steps occasioned by the unevenness of the rock on which they range; yet the inhabitants of the place may be seen riding about on horseback, and mounted on elephants, as if the place were a perfect level. Within view of the city is the fortress of Tytock, 4,854 feet above the level of the sea; which cost the lives of four British officers in its capture during the Goorka war. The fall of those brave men is commemorated by a lofty obelisk, which marks their graves, and presents an object of melancholy interest to wanderers who come suddenly upon the remote resting-places of their countrymen. Nahun is considered to be healthy, though rather inconveniently warm, notwithstanding its elevated position at upwards of 3,000 feet above the sea-level.

The late rajah of Nahun was rather proud of his *killar*, or fortress, which is of imposing appearance, and contiguous to the city, and he seldom omitted to invite European strangers that might be in the vicinity, to pay him a visit and inspect his troops, the latter being neither very numerous or highly disciplined; their unsoldierlike appearance readily accounting for the facility with which the more martial Sikhs and Goorkas possessed themselves of the territory of their chief. This rajah, who was indebted to British aid for the rescue of his dominions from the Goorkas, was always exceedingly polite and attentive to Europeans, and readily afforded them every assistance while within his territory.

Few things could be more absurd than the interviews which occasionally took place between the small native potentates of India and the civil or military European travellers, that by chance found themselves passing through a remote rajahship. The tourists, when pounced upon for a visit of ceremony, were usually in the deplorable state of dishabille natural to travellers among the wild scenery of the hill districts, and might consider themselves supremely fortunate if they possessed a decent coat at hand to exhibit upon the occasion. A long journey had, in all probability, sadly deteriorated the appearance of the cattle and the followers; and the traveller might feel perfectly willing, and even desirous, to relinquish the honour about to be conferred upon him; but he could have no choice. The rajah, on the other hand, was anxious to exhibit as a personage of importance; and having given due notice of his intended visit, would pay his respects to the fugitive representative of Great Britain, with all the pomp and circumstance he could command. The cavalcades on such occasions were sometimes exceedingly picturesque, and afforded a striking display of elephants handsomely caparisoned, ornamented howdahs and litters, gaudily-dressed troopers, and crowds of men on foot, brandishing swords, silver maces, and rusty matchlocks; while the deep and rapid sounds of the kettle-drums, and the shrill blasts of the silver trumpets, came upon the ear in wild and warlike melody. It was indispensably necessary, notwithstanding the numerous discrepancies appearing in the make-up of the reception by the multitude of ragged followers, and the consciousness of the unfitness of well-worn travelling costume as accessories to a visit of state, that the much-honoured stranger should preserve a steady countenance, since any indulgence of the risible faculty would, upon such an occasion, have given mortal offence; and by no effort at explanation, would levity of manner be attributed to other than intentional insult. The sensitiveness of the rajah of Nahun might possibly have been increased by the fact of his impoverished condition, the territories of which he was chief consisting merely of the thinly-peopled and scantily-cultivated mountainous regions between Deyrah and Pinjore, and his revenues being, consequently, of very inadequate amount on which to support the state of an independent chieftain.

BOWRIE, RAJPOOTANA.

Ruined villages, of which, even prior to the revolt of 1857, there were already an abundance in India, are not, however, more plentiful than are the hill fortresses of the upper provinces, and of other parts of the country where mountain defences are possible. In such localities, it seems as if every little rajah or petty chief had, at some time or other, climbed an eminence, and intrenched himself within walls of mud or stone, according as his means would enable him, and opportunities for the purpose served: his eagle's nest was then garrisoned by troops of adherents or retainers, armed with spears and bows, and rusty matchlocks, and every household became invested with a military character. Nor was this without sufficient cause, since when not engaged in combating an invading stranger, these chieftains were constantly at feud with each other, and had no security for life or property except when fortified upon heights they deemed inaccessible to a hostile force. The native idea, that safety was best found at great elevations, has doubtless greatly improved the appearance of the country in the hill districts; and whatever modern fortifications of European construction may have gained in strength, they have certainly lost in picturesque effect, as is quite evident when the bastions and towers of the Mohammedan era are compared with the fortifications of the present age.

The country comprehended under the name of Rajpootana, embraces so many districts, that every variety of scenery is to be met with in it; but though the valley of Oodipoor, and other equally beautiful portions, are celebrated for the exquisite loveliness of their landscapes, the general character of the country is that of sterility. The

landscape, therefore, represented in the plate as surrounding the fortress of Bowrie, may be considered a favourable specimen, as wood and water, which fail in many other tracts, are there abundant. The banian supplies its umbrageous foliage to the scene; and the one represented in the engraving may suffice to give an accurate idea of the manner in which a whole grove is produced from the parent stem—each of the pendant fibres, upon reaching the ground, taking root, and affording support to the branch from which it has descended; thus enabling it to push out further, and fling down other supports, until at length a wide area round the original trunk is formed into avenues, which sometimes cover several acres of ground. The natives, who regard this beautiful product of their country with great veneration, will never willingly consent that a banian tree shall be cut down or mutilated. The small fig produced by the banian, furnishes nutritious food to immense multitudes of monkeys, squirrels, peacocks, and various other denizens of the forests, who live among the branches of this father of trees; and, from the protection it thus affords to the inferior classes of the animal creation, it is not surprising that Hindoos should look upon it as a natural temple, and be inclined to pay it divine honours.

On the banks of the Nerbudda, a tree of this species covered a tract of ground 2,000 feet in circumference; and only the principal stems (250 in number) were counted within that range. Travellers often seek the shelter of these natural pavilions; and the religious tribes of Hindoos are particularly fond of resting beneath their umbrageous canopy. Under many such, a resident Brahmin may be found; and in few instances are the devotees without an attendant priesthood.

MAKUNDRA, MALWA.

The small, dilapidated, but picturesque village of Makundra, of which the principal street is shown in the accompanying plate, is situated in the valley of Boondee, about thirty-eight miles from Kotah, the capital of the state of that name, and to whose rajah it belongs. Makundra derives its principal claim to celebrity from its being the pass through which, in the summer of 1804, a brigade of English troops, under General Monson, was compelled to retreat after an encounter with Jeswunt Rao Holcar, and to seek safety by a difficult march to Agra. The village is beautifully situated in a valley of circular form, and not more than three-quarters of a mile in diameter. The hills on every side are nearly precipitous; and the pass, defended at the north and south ends by lofty stone walls and gates, guarded by chowkeedars in the service of the rajah of Kotah, is the only means of communication for many miles through the mountain ridge that divides Malwa from the state of Harravali, in Ajmeer.

In the retrograde movement to which reference has been made, it appears that General Monson was offered shelter in this pass by the rajah of Kotah; but the valley had too much the appearance of a trap, to permit the cautious soldier to avail himself of the offer of a prince whose fidelity he could not be assured of; and he preferred the chances of open warfare to the risk of being surrounded in a defile, in which a treacherous and vindictive enemy would have every advantage. The retreat was therefore continued; and though, from the numerous obstacles that had to be encountered in penetrating a wild and difficult country, it was attended with many hardships and losses, still it was considered a masterly evolution, and one that reflected great credit upon the discipline and good conduct of the little force concerned. In India, uninterrupted good fortune is essential, if the favourable opinion of the natives is to be preserved; and in the neighbourhood of Makundra, the retreat is still spoken of as a flight, to which some degree of obloquy is supposed to attach—the inhabitants, in referring to the affair with Holcar, always describing it to have happened at the time "when Monson ran away!" Fortunately, the *prestige* lost by the occurrence has since been

restored, and the adjacent hills and pass have resounded with British shouts of triumph; a force under General Donkin having, not long afterwards, fallen in with the van of Kurreem Khan's horde of Pindarries, near Makundra, which they completely routed, taking the caparisoned elephant of the chief, with his favourite wife and all his baggage. The gallantry of the captors of course secured to the lady the highest degree of deference and protection; but the rest of Kurreem Khan's effects were speedily appropriated by the victors. The spoil underwent a very summary process, being sold by a sort of drum-head auction on the spot, and the proceeds were forthwith divided among the parties interested—the most certain as well as the most speedy method of securing prize-money; but a process by no means satisfactory to prize agents.

Makundra had frequently been the theatre of Pindarrie warfare, and the haunt of Bheel robbers, and other wild predatory tribes, inhabitants of the hills, who, like the generality of mountaineers in the East, consider plundering to be their lawful occupation; but since the dispersion and subjection of the Pindarries, and the entire settlement of Malwa and its adjacent districts, this celebrated thoroughfare has often been the scene of murders still more appalling than those formerly perpetrated by the armed and mounted freebooters, who would gallop into a village and put to the sword all who were unable to effect their escape from the sudden and furious onslaught. The Pindarries at least waged open warfare, and travellers acquainted with their danger provided against it by assembling in large bodies, and furnishing themselves with weapons of defence. In the apparently peaceable state in which the country reposed after the Pindarrie war had terminated, these precautions were abandoned, and solitary travellers, or small parties, set forward upon long journeys, unconscious that their path was beset by assassins, from whom neither riches nor poverty were a protection.

From the time of the first invasion of India by the Monghols and Tartars, the whole of the upper provinces of India have swarmed with a class of banditti, or murderers, called Thugs, or Phansegars, from their dexterity in strangling their victims. These men have secret signs, by which they become known to each other while mingling in communities perfectly unsuspicious of the desperate courses in which they are engaged. During a part of the year they remain quietly in their own homes, engaged in cultivating the land; but, at the end of the rainy season, each village sends out its gang, and parties of from ten or a dozen, to thirty, collect together, and, in the guise of travellers, pursue their way towards the central provinces. They are totally without weapons, and are careful to avoid every appearance which might excite alarm—the instrument with which they perpetrate their murders being nothing more than a strip of cloth. While journeying along the high roads they mark out for destruction all whom they fall in with that do not present a very formidable appearance, following their victims for several days, until they come to a place in which they may conveniently effect their purpose. In lonely parts of the country very little time is lost. A select number of the band (called Lughaes) go forward and dig the graves; those who, by their dexterity and strength, have attained the distinction of being stranglers (Bhuttotes), slip the cloth round the necks of the doomed, whose bodies are stripped in an instant, and carried off to the place selected for interment. In more populous districts greater precaution is used. The murder is generally deferred until nightfall; and the custom adopted in India, of bivouacking in the open air, greatly facilitates the design of the murderers.

Travellers usually carry along with them the materials for their simple repast; they kindle fires on the ground, prepare their cakes of meal, and sit down to the enjoyment of their pipes. The Thugs, who by means of their Sothaes, or inveiglers, employ the most insinuating arts to entice persons pursuing the same route to join their company, appear to be employed in the same preparations; but, at a given signal (generally some common and familiar word, such as "bring tobacco"), the work of death commences, and is perfected often in full view of some neighbouring village. Nothing, however, occurs which could give a distant spectator an idea of the tragic scene enacting before his eyes: one or two persons are seen singing and playing on the tomtom, in order to impart an air of careless festivity to the group, and to drown any cry that might escape the victims. The murders are simultaneously performed upon all the party marked out for destruction, and the dim and fast-fading twilight involves the whole scene in impenetrable obscurity. The bodies are hastily deposited in the ground, and fires are

immediately kindled upon the spot, to prevent the traces of newly-turned earth from being discernible. When the accumulation of booty becomes large, a detachment is sent off with it to some convenient depôt, where it is sold or otherwise disposed of for the benefit of the gang. Pedestrian travellers in India often carry valuable property about with them, both in money and ornaments; and as appearances are often deceitful, the Thugs make no distinction, and seize upon those who bear the marks of poverty as well as upon persons of substance, accompanied by baggage and attendants. They are careful not to attack the inhabitants of a place through which they may have to pass, as a person missing from a village would possibly lead to their detection. Months may elapse after the victims of Thuggee have mouldered in their graves, before suspicion of their fate has risen in the minds of their relatives, in consequence of the immense distance which wayfarers in India traverse to their various destinations, and the slowness of their method of travelling.

This terrible race of assassins have agents and abettors among the inferior members of the police, who are known to furnish them with important intelligence, and to use the most artful endeavours to explain away appearances which might tend to criminate them. The institution still exists; but the energetic measures of late taken by government, with a view to its thorough eradication from the soil of India, will probably, at no distant period, have the effect of putting an end to the practice of Thuggee by the worshippers of Bhowanee, the "destroyer."

TRAVELLERS AND ESCORT IN KATTEAWAR.

The name of Katteawar is frequently applied by the natives to the whole of the peninsula of Guzerat, which is situated principally between the 21st and 24th degrees of north latitude, and is bounded on the north by the province of Ajmeer, on the south by the sea and the province of Aurungabad, on the east by Malwa and Kandeish, and on the west by a sandy desert, the province of Cutch, and the sea. The south-western quarter of the province approaches the shape of a peninsula, formed by the gulfs of Cutch and Cambay; and the interior is inhabited by various tribes of professed robbers, who prey not only upon their peaceable neighbours, but also on one another; and, being all well mounted, they extend their depredations to a considerable distance, and render travelling, unless in large and well-armed companies, very insecure. The influence of European association may, in some trifling degree, have repressed this tendency to lawless appropriation; but, being accustomed for ages to a predatory life, the natives of this district are very reluctantly compelled to relinquish habits congenial to their nature, and never fail to return to them upon every favourable occasion. They are a bold, warlike race, but not numerous—a circumstance partly owing to the practice of female infanticide.

The predatory disposition of the inhabitants of Katteawar (or Guzerat), renders it necessary, as before observed, that those who undertake long journeys among them should travel well protected. The scene represented in the plate shows a party of travellers, with their escort, just arriving at the halting-ground, which has been chosen on a plain, thickly scattered over with the remains of tombs and other edifices. The sepulchres of India are so completely devoid of those features that in other countries naturally render them distasteful to the living, that travellers seldom make any objection to take up their temporary abode among them, as wells are generally found in their vicinity; and the localities selected are usually pleasant; while, during the greater portion of the year, the nights in India are so remarkably fine, that the shelter afforded by a pavilion open (as the one in the plate) to all the winds of heaven, proves quite sufficient for comfort. Fires are then speedily lighted for the evening bivouac, animals unloaded, and the baggage piled in some place that offers the greatest chance of security.

A cloak or blanket, or at most a thin mat or mattress, suffices for a bed; and, altogether, a night encampment in India often embraces more of comfort than persons unacquainted with the climate and the manners of the people can readily imagine possible.

The people of Katteawar trouble themselves but little about the distinctions of caste. Rajpoots by descent, and children of the sun, they worship that luminary; but while equally superstitious with the Hindoos, they are certainly not influenced by the same excess of religious zeal. The province is famous for a breed of horses which is esteemed throughout India; and its camels, which come from Marwar (a district in the north of Guzerat), are also considered the finest in India, being taller, more muscular, and of a more tractable disposition than any other of their species.

ZANGHERA, OR THE FAKEER'S ROCK—ON THE GANGES.

The river Ganges, in its progress through the plains, waters many spots of remarkable beauty; but in the whole course of its brilliant career, it can scarcely boast a more splendid landscape than that in which the rocks of Zanghera form a prominent feature. Standing boldly out in the stream, near a place called Sultangunge, in the province of Behar (about ninety miles east of Patna), this picturesque pile forms a beautiful object. It consists of several masses of grey granite, heaped one upon the other in an irregular manner, forming ledges and terraces, which have become the sites of numerous small temples. In some places, a crevice in the side of the rock has afforded room for the roots of magnificent trees to shoot upwards, and crown the romantic height with bright foliage.

Zanghera is supposed to have been, in former times, connected with the mainland by an isthmus; but the action of the river, in its ceaseless rolling towards the sea, has long since worn a passage for its waters between the rock and the shore, and the former is now completely isolated. From time immemorial the spot has been reputed eminently sacred, and a succession of fakeers have established themselves upon it, who derive a considerable revenue from the offerings of pious voyagers and tourists on the river. At the back of the rock, a ghaut, or landing-place, has been constructed, whence rude stairs conduct the pilgrims who are desirous to perform their orisons at the hallowed shrine, to a temple at the summit, dedicated to Naryan, who reigns here as principal deity of the place. An idol of the myth *adorns* the temple that crowns the romantic pile; and his image, with those of Vishnu, Seeva, and other gods of the Hindoo pantheon, is carved on different parts of the rock.

The chief fakeer of this singular establishment preserves a dignified seclusion; and when, upon rare occasions, he condescends to reveal himself to suppliant devotees, seems as motionless and silent as the idol he worships. At such times he appears seated on a tiger-skin, and is unencumbered with any covering except the chalk and ashes that form his sacerdotal garment, and with which he is profusely smeared, to the intense admiration of his followers. This personage has, however, numerous disciples and attendants, who, by their noisy importunity, make up for the silence of their chief, and are at the trouble of exacting tribute, or endeavouring to do so, from all who pass the rock, whatever may be their creed or country. These fellows watch the boats upon the river, as they approach either way, and pushing out from the rock whenever the state of the water will permit, follow the voyagers with noisy importunities until a satisfactory contribution has been obtained; but when the Ganges is full, and the current, strengthened by the melting of the snow, comes down in an impetuous flood, there can be no loitering under the rock of Zanghera; and a vessel sailing up with a strong wind against this tide, makes rather a perilous navigation as it stems the rapid waters. In going down the Ganges at such a time, the rock is passed by the voyager as if he were an arrow shot from a bow, and

it is only possible to snatch a transient glance of its picturesque beauty; but when the river is low, and the current flows gently, it can be viewed at leisure; and many persons, under such favouring circumstances, land, that they may obtain a momentary glance at the grim deity of the temple, and its no less repulsive high priest.

Zanghera stands at the very portal of Bengal, a district differing very widely from the high table-land of Hindoostan proper. The arid plains and bare cliffs that, except during the season of the rains, give so dreary an aspect to the upper provinces, are now succeeded by fields of never-fading verdure; as the damp climate of Bengal maintains vegetation in all its brilliance throughout the year—the period of the rains being only marked by a coarser and ranker luxuriance, proceeding from the redundance of plants that overspread the soil. Zanghera, thus happily placed between the rugged scenery of the upper provinces and the smiling landscapes of Bengal proper, partakes of the nature of both; the Ganges spreading itself like a sea at the foot of the rock on one side, while on the other a wide expanse of fertile country lays revealed, having for a background the low ranges of hills that separate Behar from Bengal.

COLGONG—ON THE GANGES.

The remarkable cluster of rocks at Colgong—about a day's sail below Zanghera—claims prominent notice amidst the exceedingly picturesque scenery of the Ganges. In the rainy season, the mighty river rushes through them with frightful turbulence, spreading out its broad waters like an ocean, of which the projecting points of Colgong and Patergotta form an extensive and beautiful bay, surrounded by an amphitheatre of hills.

These rocks are esteemed holy by Hindoo devotees, and are sculptured in many places with rude effigies of their gods. Wild garlands, formed by the luxuriant creepers of the soil, fling their rich wreaths over the rugged faces of the crags; and tangled shrubs spring from wherever a shallow bed of earth permits them to take root. The luxury of rich foliage can scarcely at any place be seen to greater advantage than from the rocky islets of Colgong, which overlook woods spreading in all directions on the opposite shore; while beyond, the Rajmahal hills gleam with the purple glory of the amethyst. These crags are the haunts of numerous birds: pigeons nestle in the trees; and, on the slightest alarm, myriads of small waterfowl rush out in snowy flocks, and add, by their noisy flight, to the animation of the scene; while the numerous flotillas of native craft, of strange but highly picturesque construction, serve hourly to increase the beauty of the surrounding view.

Colgong is the occasional habitation of a fakeer, but is not the settled residence of any recluse of celebrity, as is Zanghera. Here there are no regular temples, although a rude shrine has been shaped out of one of the largest blocks of granite that crown the summit of the rock to the westward of the group. There are also caverns in these islets; and it is seldom that either a living or dead specimen of the religious mendicants that swarm over India, is not to be found among them.

All the mooring-places within a day's sail of Colgong, are distinguished for their surpassing beauty; and the whole voyage hence, down to Calcutta, conducts the tourist through a region of enchantment. Rajmahal, a once royal city on the Ganges, about sixty-five miles north-west of Moorshedabad, particularly merits the attention of all who have any taste for charming scenery; and the ruins of its once splendid palaces add a melancholy interest to the landscape that surrounds them. The origin of this city is lost in the obscurity of ages; but it is certain that it has possessed importance and dignity as the capital of Bengal, during a long succession of princes, who profusely embellished it with tasteful architecture. The stone principally found in these interesting remains is a red granite, and its colour, decayed by age, harmonises with the foliage in which vast masses of it are embedded. Occasionally, some remains of marble—the favourite mate-

rial of the luxurious Moguls, brought into use about the period of Akbar—are met with. Among the relics of its past magnificence is a hall of noble dimensions, erected by the Sultan Shuja, the brother of Aurungzebe—lined throughout with costly marbles; but which, of late years, has been employed as a receptacle for coals to supply the steamers that navigate the river.

The reverence for the dead, which is a distinguishing trait of the natives of India, is strongly manifested in the lonely tombs that occupy the heights around Rajmahal. Wherever the traveller comes upon one of those mausoleums, however neglected and apparently deserted the place may be, he is certain to find traces of pious care from human hands. The precincts of a tomb may, perhaps, be the haunt of a solitary jackal, or other beast of prey, too little accustomed to man's intrusion to be alarmed at his approach; and yet, even when it would seem the prowling savage was sole tenant of the wild, the newly-swept pavement, strewed with fresh flowers, shows that some human being has recently performed a pious task. It is not always possible to guess who has been at the pains to keep the shrine free from the pollutions of bats and birds; but occasionally, scarcely more human in his outward form than the wild animals that range amidst these solitudes, some attendant fakeer will slowly advance to sight, his long, matted locks, and the distinguishing marks of his caste and calling (chalk and dirt), forming his sole attire. Money to a personage so totally independent in the way of clothing and lodging, if not of food also, would appear to be perfectly superfluous; but though not always solicited, it is never rejected; and considering that where there are no garments there can be no pockets, the rapidity with which an offered rupee vanishes is truly marvellous.

SEIKS HALTING NEAR THE SUTLEJ—THE "KOH-I-NOOR."

The native suwarree, or train of a great personage in India, has always formed a picturesque and animated pageant; but through the depressed condition of many of the native chieftains, in consequence of the changes of the last half-century, none, in point of magnificence, could of late years compare with those of Runjeet Sing, a chieftain that, in his progresses, was always accompanied by a glittering train of martial followers, whose flashing swords had won for their master the broad lands and tribute of many warlike tribes that surrounded the state of which he was the dreaded ruler.

Runjeet Sing, like other native potentates, when seen in public, was always attended by hawk and hound, his falconers bearing the royal birds upon their wrists, and having a pack of dogs led before him. Surrounded by a brilliant cavalcade, composed of superb-looking men, mounted upon stately elephants or fiery steeds, and shining in all the barbaric splendour of polished weapons, jewels, and gold, his encampment, or halting-place, realised the *beau ideal* of Asiatic grandeur and romance. In the annexed plate the hoary warrior, who has alighted from his elephant in the midst of a group of his principal officers, is represented as halting under the shade of an immense banian; while the troops forming his ordinary escort are passing the resting-place of their chief, towards the Sutlej, on the opposite bank of which is a fortified Seik town—the snowy peaks of the Himalaya, at a distance of 120 miles, being visible from the spot.

The elephants, camels, and horses of this extraordinary personage were always of the finest breed, and of great beauty. Among the latter animals, he retained, with much pride, a noble horse presented to him by Lord William Bentinck, during the time he held the governor-generalship. This fine creature was of the Suffolk breed, usually employed as beasts of draught in the great brewing establishments of London; but in the hands of the Seik chieftain, it was promoted to the dignity of sometimes carrying the formidable Runjeet himself, who, in consequence of its immense size and breadth, distinguished it by the appellation of Hathee-sa-ghora (or Elephant-Horse.)

Upon occasions of state, at one period of his career, Runjeet Sing, whose dress was at all times resplendent with jewellery, seldom appeared without wearing, on some part of his gorgeous attire, the remarkable diamond that has since excited so much curiosity in this country, under the title of the "Koh-i-noor, or Mountain of Light," which, since his relinquishment of it, has become a brilliant addition to the diamonds belonging to the Queen of England. The history of the method by which the maharajah himself became possessed of the jewel, is as follows:—

In September, 1812, the queens of Shah Shuja and Zemaun Shah, of Cabool, took refuge from the troubles of their country, and were received in Lahore with great demonstrations of regard. Shuja, a deposed king, having been made a prisoner by treachery, was conveyed by the governor of Attock to his brother, who at the time ruled over Cashmere. Two grand objects of Runjeet's ambition and avarice—the possession of that celebrated valley and of the "mountain of light"—appearing now to be brought by fortuitous circumstances within his grasp, he determined, if possible, to make the attainment of the one a pretext for insisting upon the concession of the other; and, with this view, he gave the queen to understand that he was resolved to espouse the cause of her husband in the most chivalrous manner, to liberate him from his confinement, and bestow upon him the fort of Rotas, with sufficient territory for the maintenance of his dignity. The afflicted lady, overjoyed and gratified, expressed her deep appreciation of the intended kindness; and it was then delicately hinted by her attendants, that in order to stimulate her powerful friend to immediate action, it would be advisable to present him with the Koh-i-noor—a gem he had particularly admired. The queen had some suspicion excited by the proposition; but, with great presence of mind, declared herself quite certain, that the moment her husband found himself at liberty, he would be but too happy to gratify the wishes of the invaluable friend who had sympathised in his distress; but that, at the moment, the precious jewel was in pawn at Candahar for two lacs of rupees. Runjeet Sing affected to believe the representation so made; but having exhibited his anxiety to possess the diamond, it became necessary to prevent its being dispatched to a place of security; and, therefore, throwing aside the chivalric character he had assumed for the occasion, he first threw the confidential servants of the unfortunate princesses into close confinement, and then surrounded the abode of their mistresses with sentinels, who had orders to search every person that should attempt to pass them. This step not having the desired effect, Runjeet resorted to one yet more unjustifiable and unmanly, and deprived the ladies and their household of all supplies, either of food or water, for two days. The betrayed princesses still holding out, the Seik chief became at length ashamed of continuing a system that could only terminate in the death of two royal ladies who had claimed his hospitality, and whom he had assured of protection; and was fain to be content with a promise of the jewel, to be redeemed when the imprisoned monarch to whom it belonged should be put in possession of Rotas. Runjeet Sing now began to work in earnest, and having entered into an alliance with the ruler of Afghanistan, they agreed to send a large force into Cashmere (which had rebelled), to subdue the country, and to obtain the liberation of Shah Shuja.

The expedition was successful; but it cost Runjeet Sing rather dearly, many of his Seiks perishing in the snow; and his ally, Futty Khan, deriving the greater share of advantage from the campaign. The latter chieftain having installed his brother in the government of the valley, the Seik was for the present obliged to be content with the person of the royal captive, who was conveyed to his family at Lahore. The success of the expedition furnished a fair pretext for the renewal of the inhospitable demand for the great diamond; and the king vainly endeavoured to elude the sacrifice, by professing his willingness to fulfil the promise made by his wife, when the restoration of his territory should enable him to redeem the coveted prize. Runjeet, impatient of delay, became incensed at each obstacle to the gratification of his avarice, and at once threw off the mask: he imprisoned his unfortunate guests, threatened them with severe and irksome treatment, and, as a commencement, kept the whole of them without food for several days. Perceiving resistance to be useless, Shah Shuja at length yielded, stipulating for a sum of money and a month's time to pay off the loan on the diamond, and recover possession of it. This was promptly acceded to by the wary Seik, who well knew how easily he could repossess himself of money advanced to a prisoner: he therefore produced

the two lacs required without hesitation, and a day was appointed for the surrender of the Koh-i-noor.

The day arrived; Shah Shuja, the representative of a line of kings, sat in dignified silence opposite his avaricious and false friend, whose family, raised to power by a freak of fortune, could only trace their descent from thieves. It is said that for a whole hour the unfortunate monarch gazed impressively upon the robber-chief, without speaking, and that Runjeet Sing, whom this mute eloquence had failed to move, at length desired somebody acquainted with the Persian language to remind his majesty of the purpose for which they had met. The Shah, without opening his lips, "spoke with his eyes," to an attendant, who retiring, returned with a small parcel, which he placed between the two great men. The envelopes were quickly removed, and the jewellers who were in attendance in the presence, recognised the diamond, and assured their despotic master that the veritable Koh-i-noor was before him.

Having so far triumphed, nothing now remained but to repossess himself of the two lacs, and this was speedily accomplished. Runjeet at once dispatched a picked body of his satellites to the residence of his unfortunate guests, with orders to bring away, without any reservation, the whole of the money and jewels belonging to the party. Those commands were literally obeyed: not only was every ornament taken, but rich dresses also, and such swords, shields, and matchlocks as were mounted in gold or silver. The robber-chief appropriated everything he thought worthy of retention, to his own use, and sent back to the owners those articles he considered of little or no value; observing, at the time, to his people, that "it was useless to get a bad name for such rubbish." Nothing more being procurable, and some feeling of remorse or policy preventing him from taking the lives of those he had so shamefully plundered, Runjeet Sing allowed the females to escape to Loodiana, where, after some time, they were joined by their husbands, on whom the British government settled an annual allowance of 50,000 rupees (£5,000), which they continued to enjoy in security for many years.

THE TOMB OF SHERE SHAH, SASSERAM.

Among the vestiges of Asiatic grandeur that still invest the scenery of Hindoostan with great historical interest, the temples and tombs that have been designed to perpetuate the memory of individuals who, from age to age, have exercised dominion over, and have alternately been the scourge and the benefactors of their people, are eminently entitled to notice. Of such edifices, the mausoleum of the Afghan chief, Shere Shah, at Sasseram (a town of the province of Bengal, about 38 miles south of Buxar, and 360 from Calcutta), still affords a remarkable example. The warlike potentate, for the reception of whose mortal remains the immense pile was raised, ascended the throne of Delhi in 1540, having succeeded, by force and by treachery, in expelling from that throne the Hindoo emperor Humaynu, one of the most venerated sovereigns of his race. The mausoleum of the usurper, as represented in the plate, is built in the centre of an immense tank, upon a square platform, surrounded by a terrace, approachable from the water on all sides by handsome flights of steps. The building is protected by a high embankment, constructed of the earth displaced for the foundation of the vast pile; and the four angles of the platform are occupied by low dome-crowned towers. The mausoleum itself is of an octagonal form, and consists of two stories surmounted by a dome, each tier having a flat terrace running round it, adorned with small pavilion-shaped turrets open at the sides, and terminated by cupolas; the central dome is similarly crowned, the cupola being in this case supported on four slender pillars, producing an air of lightness and elegance which contrasts with the stern massiveness of the substructure. The whole edifice is constructed of stone from the neighbouring hills, and thereby forms an exception to the usual character of Mohammedan architecture; while the fact vouches for the antiquity of

the building, as, at the period of its erection, marble had not yet been employed in the erection of Mohammedan structures of any kind. The interior of the mausoleum contains several sarcophagi, in which the remains of the fortunate Afghan, and some members of his family, are enshrined.

A majestic solemnity pervades the vicinity of this remarkable structure, whose dark grey walls and mouldering turrets are grouped around the dome-crowned chamber that holds the remains of the most remarkable personage of his day; but the redundance of foliage that now springs through the interstices which time has worn in the basement of the tomb, affords certain indication of its approaching destruction; and there is little doubt that, unless the shrubs are speedily removed, the foundations will ultimately become undermined by their roots, and that, in a few years, the shapeless ruins of the once magnificent structure will fill up the surrounding tank or reservoir. The building was formerly connected with the mainland by a bridge of five arches, long since destroyed: a portion of the remains are shown in the accompanying plate. In the absence of a bridge or boat, the natives gain access to the platform of the mausoleum by inserting the four legs of a *charpoy* (or bedstead) into earthen vessels, called Kedgaree pots, which float the raft so formed; and then seating themselves upon it, they paddle over, taking care, however, not to strike the jars, as a single fracture would inevitably consign the voyagers to the bottom of the reservoir.

The death of Shere Shah has been variously accounted for by the native historians; some of whom aver that, being an expert marksman and fond of fire-arms, he made an essay, with his own hands, of the capacity of a large piece of ordnance sent to him from Bengal; but the gun, being too heavily charged, burst when the match was applied, and a fragment striking the emperor, killed him on the spot. Ferishta, the historian, attributes the occurrence to the effect of a wound received by the emperor during his siege of the hill fortress of Kallinger, in Bundelcund, in 1545; and, in relating the particulars of the catastrophe, says—"The warlike monarch, though desperately wounded, allowed not his spirit to share in his bodily sufferings, but still continued to cheer on his troops to the attack. The place was vigorously assaulted; and, in the evening, the dying moments of the soldier were soothed by intelligence of its reduction. Exclaiming, 'Thanks to Almighty God!' he breathed his last amidst the lamentations of his victorious army."

The original patronymic of Shere Shah was "Ferrid;" but having in early youth distinguished himself by acts of heroic daring, in the presence of the Sultan Mahmood, his name was changed by that prince to Shere Khan (the Lion Knight, or chief.) He is represented by his biographers as ambitious, cruel, and perfidious, but possessing great abilities for government, and ever earnest in promoting measures for the welfare of the people over whom he had acquired dominion. Among other great works, commenced or perfected by him during his brief reign, was the construction of a main road from the eastern extremity of Bengal to the fort of Rotas, which he had built between the Indus and the Jhelum, extending a distance of above 3,000 miles. Along this road caravansaries were erected at convenient stages, and furnished, by his command, with provisions, to be gratuitously supplied to poor wayfarers, and with attendants of proper *castes* for his Hindoo as well as Mohammedan subjects. Mosques also were built, and wells dug, along the route; the entire distance being planted on each side with fruit trees, for the refreshment and shelter of travellers; thus encouraging commerce, by affording merchants from distant countries unusual facilities for travelling and for the transportation of their goods.

Turning from the remote past to the immediate present, we find that, at an early period of the sepoy revolt of 1857, Sasseram, in common with the adjacent districts, was subjected to continual alarm by the movements of the mutinous troops, as they approached to, or receded from, the vicinity; but it was not until the beginning of August of that year that the town was actually invaded by the rebels. On the 8th of that month, a force of 2,000 men, consisting of the mutineers from Arrah and other places, attacked and plundered the town, destroying all they could not carry away with them. A gallant resistance was maintained for six hours by the townspeople, led by a native in the service of government, named Shah Kubeer Ooddeen Ahmed; and ultimately the rebels withdrew in the direction of Mirzapoor, with the loss of twenty killed, and a great number wounded. Shah Ahmed, who had thus presented an honourable exception to his race, received the thanks of government for his loyal and gallant

conduct, and was subsequently appointed an honorary magistrate in the district of Shahabad; but, as the circumstance of his being the head of a religious institution, rendered it impossible to confer on him any other honorary title, the lieutenant-governor of Bengal recommended that a substantial reward should be provided for him out of the forfeited estates of Koer Sing, when the exact position of those estates should be ascertained.

THE CITY OF BENARES.

There are few cities of the Eastern world, however splendid they may be, that present so great a variety of attractive objects at a glance as Benares (*Cashi*, or the splendid), for ages regarded as the holiest of the sacred cities of Hindoostan. The total absence of all regular design, the infinite diversity of the styles of architecture, the continual mixture of the stern and solemn with the light and fantastic, give an indescribable variety to the scene; but the effect of the whole is magnificent, and many of the details are of almost inconceivable beauty.

Benares is situated in the east part of the province of Allahabad, and on the north-west bank of the Ganges, which at this place makes a noble curve of three or four miles, the city occupying the convex side. It is called by the Hindoos of the present era *Varanaschi*, in addition to its ancient appellation. The Brahmins assert that their holy city (*Cashi*) was originally built of gold; but, for the sins of the people, it was changed into stone; and that a further increase in the wickedness of its inhabitants, has since converted a great part of it into clay. It was for many years the most populous city in India.

The annexed view is taken from the upper part of the city. The minarets of Aurungzebe's mosque appear in the distance, and below them is one of those stately and fortress-like mansions that, a short time since, were to be met with in every part of India, though now, through the occurrences of the past two years, for the most part to be found in ruins. Beyond the minarets, to the left, the residence of the Peishwa is visible, towering above the other edifices; and although there is no garden or pleasure-ground attached to this palace, the building affords a fair specimen of the habitations of wealthy Hindoos. Only on one side, next the street, are there outer windows; the range of building on that side containing seven spacious apartments rising over each other, the rest of the chambers opening upon covered galleries which surround three sides of a small court; the communication between the different stories being as follows:—A single flight of stairs leads from the lower to the upper apartment, which must be crossed before the next flight is reached—a mode of construction that accords with the jealous precautions of the inmates. Several of the apartments are furnished with bedsteads peculiar to the Mahrattas—being a platform of polished wood slightly curved, and suspended from the ceiling at an easy distance from the ground; the panels and pillars of the rooms are richly carved, their decorations being composed of rich carpets and silver vessels of various descriptions, elaborately wrought. The ghauts, or landing-places at Benares, are incessantly thronged with people, some of whom are busy lading or unlading the native vessels that are employed in the commerce of this grand mart of Hindoostan proper; while others are drawing water, performing their ablutions, or engaged in prayer; for notwithstanding the multiplicity of their temples, the religious worship of the Hindoo is always offered in the open air.

Although the view of Benares from the river is considered beautiful, yet no correct idea of the city can be formed without penetrating to the interior, threading its mazy labyrinths, and catching a bird's-eye view from some towering height. This opportunity is afforded by the minarets of the numerous mosques that are built about the place; but the ascent is seldom attempted, unless by those who are not afraid of encountering fatigue, and risking some degree of danger; the open cupola or lantern at the top being

gained by steep and narrow stairs, and the apertures for the admission of light and air at the summit being left totally unguarded: few persons can look down from these dangerous apertures without encountering a very painful degree of dizziness and terror.

After winding through lanes and alleys, so narrow that a single individual must be jostled by every person he meets, and where a Brahmanee bull—an animal privileged to roam whereseever he chooses—may block up the passage, and render it impassable during his pleasure, the astonishment is great, when it is perceived that the closeness of the city is chiefly confined to its avenues. Looking down, as the city spreads itself like a map before him, the tourist is surprised by the stately gardens and spacious quadrangles that occupy the ground between the high buildings that line the narrow streets. Some of these secluded retreats are remarkably beautiful, surrounded by cloisters of stone, decorated with a profusion of florid ornament, and flanked by high towers, from whence the most delightful prospect imaginable may be obtained of the adjacent country, with its fertile plains and ever-shining rivers. Others, smaller, are laid out in *parterres* of flowers, with fountains in the centre; and all are tenanted by numerous birds of the brightest plumage.

Many of the principal habitations in Benares occupy extensive portions of ground; and the seclusion desired by Asiatics in their domestic residences, is completely attained by the mode of building generally adopted, the walls being high, and the towers strong, enabling the females to enjoy something more than the partial glimpse of the heavens, to which the greater portion of Hindoostanee women are confined. It is not an uncommon circumstance for the rajahs and chiefs of India, whose residences are at a great distance from Benares, to build or purchase an habitation in the holy city, to which they may repair during the celebration of the festivals of their idols, and where, also, they may finally spend their last days on earth—since those who die at Benares in the odour of sanctity, and in favour with the Brahmins, are assured of immediate absorption into the divine essence.

Although the rooted hatred entertained by the followers of the prophet against every species of idolatry, incited them to promulgate their own creed by fire and sword, wheresoever their victorious armies penetrated, the desecration of the holy city was not effected until the reign of Aurungzebe, which commenced in 1658. That emperor having determined to humble the pride of the Brahmins, levelled one of their most ancient and most venerated temples with the ground, and forthwith erected on its site a mosque, whose slender spires, shooting upward amidst the golden expanse that surrounds them, seem to touch the skies. In a city so crowded with splendid architectural objects, it required some bold and happy innovation upon the prevailing features, to produce a building which should eclipse them all; and this was happily effected by the mosque of Aurungzebe.

Previous to the erection of this trophy of the Mogul conquest of Hindoostan, the Brahmins pretended that their city could not be affected by any of the changes and revolutions which distracted the world, of which it formed no part, being the creation of Seeva after the curse had gone forth, which brought sin and sorrow upon earth; and ever upheld by the point of his trident. The priesthood have, however, been forced to abate some of their lofty pretensions, since Moslem temples have been raised beside the shrines of their deities; and blood, besides that required for sacrifices, has been, and still continues to be, shed within the precincts of their city.

The reputation for sanctity which this city possesses in the estimation of all Hindoos, renders it an especial point of attraction to pilgrims from most parts of India. A great number of these devotees being exceedingly poor, subsist wholly upon charity, and are, consequently, often reduced to a state of the most abject misery. Many of the native residents of Benares are men of extraordinary wealth, and, as diamond merchants and bankers, have occasionally rendered great service to the state by facilitating the monetary transactions of the East India Company.

Benares is also celebrated as having been, in ancient times, a principal seat of Brahminical learning, and its educational *status* has not been deteriorated by the rule of its English masters. At the time of the establishment of the British empire in India, the schools of Benares were found to be in a declining condition; but an impulse was shortly afterwards given to the progress of native intelligence, by the establishment of the

Hindoo Sanscrit college, in 1791, to which an English class was added in 1827. An unfortunate notion that prevails among the native teachers (many of whom are eminent scholars), that were they to accept any remuneration for their labours, all the religious merit of teaching the *Vedas* would be lost, restrains them from receiving any benefit from the professorships attached to the institution; and as they will not accept payment from their scholars, they are chiefly dependent upon the donations and pensions of the rajahs and wealthy pilgrims who visit the sacred city. For the above reason, the Hindoo college has never flourished to the extent anticipated by its founders.

During the present century many schools have been established in Benares, both by the assistance of the government, and the endowments of native benefactors. In 1843, the province contained six important scholastic foundations, under the inspection of a council of education, established at Calcutta in the previous year. Of these, three were at Benares; namely, the Sanscrit college, the English seminary, and the branch school: the other three were severally at Ghazepoor, Azimghur, and Goruckpoor; and, in the whole of them, there were about 1,300 pupils, most of whom were Hindoos. Many of these native children were instructed in the English, Persian, and Hindoostanee languages, as well as in the other elementary branches of useful education. The London, and other missionary associations, have of late years given considerable attention to the city of Benares, as an important central station for their operations in the religious instruction of the natives of Hindoostan. The government of Benares has been virtually exercised by the English since 1775, the rajah holding merely a nominal authority, and being a stipendiary of the government.

The accustomed quiet of Benares was rudely disturbed in the month of June, 1857, by an unexpected outbreak of the 37th regiment of native infantry, which led to the disarming of that corps, and to a conflict between it and her majesty's troops under Colonel Neill, in the evening of the 4th of that month. In the rencontre that ensued, Captain Guise, of the irregular corps, with several subalterns, were killed. The state of the European residents was, for some time, one of great peril, and the loss of property incalculable.

The extraordinary influence which the British government had for a long time possessed in India, was in no place more strikingly displayed than at Benares, where the Brahmins were formerly undisputed lords of the ascendant, and might commit any act they pleased with perfect impunity; for the Mohammedans, though leaving a proud and defiant emblem of their triumph in the mosque before mentioned, did not make any permanent conquests in the immediate neighbourhood of the holy city. The privileges of a Brahmin are not recognised by the law of the British courts of judicature when they militate against the peace of society or the safety of individuals; and thus, if a murder be proved against him, he must now suffer for the crime as another felon would do; and although all suicides cannot be prevented, they are far less frequently perpetrated than formerly. The curious custom of "sitting dhurna," formerly common among Hindoos, has not, for many years, been practised to so great an extent at Benares as in other parts of India, where debts have been recovered, and grievances redressed, by the most extraordinary means which the weak ever devised to obtain justice from the strong. In sitting "dhurna," the oppressed party, either singly or in numbers, clothed in mourning attire, with ashes on the head, sit down in some spot convenient to the residence of the debtor or oppressor, refusing to eat or sleep until they shall obtain justice. The enemy thus assailed is compelled, by the prejudices of his religion (if a Hindoo), to abstain from food also, until he can come to a compromise, the blood of the person dying under this strange infliction being upon his head. Even Christians, whose consciences have not been so tender upon the subject, have felt themselves awkwardly situated when a "dhurna" has been enacted at their doors, especially at Benares, where, upon one occasion, nearly the whole population assumed the attitude of mourning, sitting exposed to the weather, and to the danger of starving, to procure the repeal of an obnoxious tax.

Benares is famous for several manufactures, and is one of the great marts of the riches of the East. Diamonds, pearls, and other precious gems, are brought hither from all Asia, with shawls, spices, gums, and perfumes. It is only at Benares, and very few other places, that the finest products of the looms of Dacca are procurable. Hindoostanee females of rank delight in attiring themselves in drapery of a texture so thin and trans-

parent as scarcely to be visible, except when folded many times together. This is called "night-dew:" and it is related, that a certain king, objecting to the indecency of his daughter's apparel, was told that she had clothed herself in several hundred yards of muslin. This delicate article is enormously expensive, and, happily, has not yet found its way to the markets of Europe.

HINDOO TEMPLE, BENARES.

The history of the pagoda, in the annexed engraving, is precisely similar, in many respects, to that of other buildings of equal beauty and antiquity in India The foundation has been gradually undermined, and the structure it should have supported has sank into the river whose banks it once adorned. The antiquity of this temple is shown by the pointed mitre-like domes that surmount the towers; the round, flattened cupolas, as seen in the mausoleum of Aurungzebe at Sasseram, not having been introduced into Hindoo architecture until after the occupation of the country by the Mogul invaders.

At an early hour in the morning, the officiating priests of the different temples of Benares commence their daily duties. Some repeat passages from the *Vedas* (sacred books), for the edification of those who bring holy water from the Ganges, to pour upon the idols, or who come to make offerings at the shrines; while others strew flowers around the sacred precincts. Baskets filled with floral treasures, magnificent in size and splendid in hue, are brought for sale to the gates of the temple, the pavements of which are strewed with large red, white, and yellow blossoms, which would form the most brilliant natural carpet in the world, were it not for their destruction by the streams of sacred water that are poured down on all sides while the idols are receiving their customary ablutions.

Priests are but men all the world over; and it is not therefore a surprising fact, that some of these temples maintain a set of dancing-girls, who reside in apartments appropriated to their use, belonging to the establishment. These ladies, who are generally selected for their beauty, are not required to be perfectly immaculate, and are not the less esteemed for a slight defection from the strict rules of morality, in the intervals of leisure between their attendance at religious processions and festivals. Another feature connected with the temples of Hindoostan, consists of crowds of beggars of every description, who block up the avenues to pagodas in particular favour with the devotees. Many of these mendicants are of the most hideous and repulsive description, maimed and distorted, some by the effects of accident, but mostly by the severe inflictious they impose upon themselves by their religious zeal, and by the endurance of which they acquire a reputation for extraordinary sanctity. Whatever opinion a European may entertain as to that acquisition, he cannot for a moment hesitate to admit their claim to extraordinary filthiness and disgusting ugliness. Numbers of these miserable wretches have no covering whatever, except a coating of mud and chalk, with which they bedaub and smear themselves; their long untrimmed beards and shaggy hair being matted with filth of the vilest description. Others there are amongst them who are steady and well clad—who demand alms after the fashion of the mendicant of Gil Blas, and would consider themselves degraded if they condescended to obtain a livelihood by industry, or any other way than that recognised by their peculiar craft.

In the courts of some of the principal pagodas, it is not uncommon to find a fat Brahmanee bull comfortably established. These pampered and petted beasts are suffered to roam at their pleasure through the bazaars, where they help themselves to the grain or vegetables that may be within their reach. No one dare refuse them the food they select, nor may molest them; and, unless under very peculiar circumstances indeed, few would be desirous to dispute the road with an animal so rigidly protected by law, as well as by its own strength. Sometimes these Indian Joves in disguise, will lie down across a

street, and, grown lazy by high feeding, will refuse to rise for hours. In this state of affairs, the Hindoo has no alternative but to wait patiently until the sacred brute shall move of his own accord: but the Mohammedans and Christians of the place, who have less consideration for its sanctity than for its flavour, try a more summary mode of freeing themselves from the obstruction, and do not hesitate to apply their sticks to the venerated hide in their way. It is not denied that the irreverence of the lower classes of both religions sometimes extends so far, that if the darkness of the night favours them upon such occasions with the opportunity, they will quietly lead the animal away to a sequestered spot, where, having administered the *coup de grace*, they for several days afterwards fare sumptuously upon the sacred carcass.

Notwithstanding the sanctity that is accorded by the Hindoos to the whole species, the bulls taken under the protection of the priesthood are alone exempted from maltreatment. A worshipper of Brahma, though he would not kill an ox or a cow for the world, seldom has any reluctance to starve or overwork it, if it is to his advantage or convenience to do either. All the animals belonging to the city of Benares, or any place under the exclusive dominion of the Hindoo priesthood, are secure from violence; but there are a few peculiarly sacred, which go under the name of Brahmanee. The bulls have already been mentioned; there are also Brahmanee ducks and lizards. Of the former, an interesting tradition is still received among the devout Hindoos, who believe them to be animated by the souls of human delinquents, transmigrated into the bodies of those birds, and punished by an extraordinary affection for each other, which renders separation a source of the most poignant anguish. The male and female, it is said, are compelled, by a mysterious instinct, to part at sunset; they fly on the opposite sides of the river, each supposing that its mate has voluntarily abandoned its nest, and imploring the truant to return by loud and piercing cries. The pitiable condition of these mourners has excited the compassion of the Brahmins, who have thrown the *ægis* of their name over the unfortunate beings thus cursed by the gods.

BOODH MONUMENT NEAR BENARES.

The extraordinary monument, of which a representation is given in the accompanying plate, stands near the European station of Seerole, about four miles distant from Benares, and is an object of great curiosity and interest to all antiquarian travellers. This tower is about 150 feet in circumference, and its remains are yet above 100 feet in height. It is solidly constructed, the lower part having a casing of large blocks of stone neatly joined together, well polished, and decorated near the base with a broad band, on which is carved the figure of Boodh, in a curiously formed medallion, richly enwreathed with foliage and flowers. Around the sub-story of the tower are a series of projections, advancing about eight inches beyond the solid wall, and each having a niche in the upper part. Three of these are shown in the engraving; but the ornaments of the remainder of this remarkable structure (if, indeed, it possessed any) have been swept away by the remorseless hand of time. The upper portion of the ruin has been supposed to be an addition of a period more recent than the original structure, being built of brick; the casing of stone (if it ever had one) having disappeared, and the ruinous state of the summit affording no clue to its original design and formation. The monument is, however, acknowledged to be Boodhist, and is imagined to have been of a pyramidical or globular shape; the forms of these holy places being always similar to the gigantic mounds that, in the early ages, were raised over the ashes of the dead.

The foundations of a very large building are yet to be traced, at about the distance of 200 yards from the tower; and it has been supposed that, in remote times, the priests belonging to the adjacent temple had here a religious establishment, it being the custom to congregate in bodies in the neighbourhood of these temples. These remains, some

fifty years since, attracted the attention of several scientific gentlemen, at that time resident in the European cantonments of Seerole, and they commenced an active investigation of the spot. Their labours were, after some time, rewarded by the discovery of several excavations, filled with an immense number of flat tiles, having representations of Boodh modelled upon them in wax.

The temples of the Boodhists are mere tombs, or buildings, to commemorate the actions of men. In their deity there is no all-pervading influence: he is supposed to maintain a quiescent state—untroubled by the government of the world, and wholly unconcerned about the affairs of men. The followers of Boodh imagine that, although their god takes no interest in the good or evil actions of his creatures (which are rewarded and punished in this world—prosperity being the universal consequence of virtue, and misfortune the constant attendant upon vice), that sanctity of a very superior order, extraordinary acts of self-denial, and the good wrought by the reformation of their brethren, secure to the devotee rigidly performing such duties, the power of working miracles, and, after death, a certain degree of those God-like attributes which may be employed to influence the destinies of mankind. The religious worship of the Boodhists is duly paid to these saints; and the time-defying towers, which afford conclusive proof of the wide dissemination of their doctrines, and are found in opposite quarters of the globe, are said to contain either the bodies, or some relic—such as a tooth, or portion of the hair—of these holy persons.

The religion of the Boodhists is perfectly unimpassioned and soulless: their notions of eternal bliss are confined to the absence of all care and pain; and their supreme being is represented as slumbering over a busy world, in which he takes no interest. The silver and marble images of this quiescent deity, occasionally met with, have familiarised Europeans with the objects that the disciples of Boodhism render homage to. The figure is that of a human being in a state of meditation, or rather, perfect abstraction. The posture is always that of repose—the hands folded over the knees, and the features imperturbably composed. The semblance is invariably that of the human species; and there are not any of the fantastic and absurd devices of the Hindoos resorted to, to convey ideas of superior bodily and intellectual powers. Although belonging to a different creed, the ground on which a similar temple at Sarnat stands, is esteemed by the Brahmins as more highly blessed than any in the neighbourhood of the holy city of Benares.

CAWNPOOR.

This blood-stained town of the Upper Provinces of Bengal, whose name is associated with infamies by which the indignation of the whole civilised world has been aroused, is situated on the western bank of the Ganges, about 52 miles south of Lucknow, and 123 north-west of Allahabad. Like many other Oriental towns, Cawnpoor, previous to the terrible events of June and July, 1857, had a picturesque, if not an imposing appearance from the river, and might boast of edifices that had some claim to architectural beauty; but in the punishment brought upon it and its inhabitants through an act of unparalleled treachery, and the cold-blooded slaughter and nameless horrors by which that treachery was consummated, many of the most attractive features of the place have been sadly and irreparably defaced. It still, however, owing to its great length along the bank of the Ganges, occasionally presents to view some interesting specimens of Hindoo scenery, interspersed with isolated temples and mosques, embedded in magnificent foliage. Two of such temples, crowned with the mitre-shaped dome common to the sacred architecture of Hindoostan before the Mohammedans had possessed themselves of the country, are represented in the accompanying engraving—the white building on the left of which is a house belonging to a wealthy native; and in the far distance, on the right, are the remains of two bungalows, formerly occupied by European residents.

The view of the town on the land side is very limited, being almost entirely obstructed by a low ridge crowned with wood, which skirts the sandy plain that separates the town

from the cantonments. The ancient, or *native*, and the modern, or *European* towns, closely adjoin each other, and, together, extend for about six miles along the river bank, which, for the greater portion of the distance, was formerly studded with the substantial and almost palatial residences of the wealthy natives, intermingled with temple, and mosque, and ghaut, and the bungalows of Europeans in the civil and military service of the Company. The portion of the town stretching back inland, consisted of an heterogeneous mass of buildings, chiefly constructed of unbaked mud, and possessing no particular features of interest. Amidst this mass, however, were some residences of Europeans and wealthy inhabitants, composed of brick or other durable material, and generally surrounded by pleasant gardens, by which they were detached from the bulk of the town. The principal edifices of the European town of Cawnpoor, previous to the revolt of 1857, were a church, a free school, military hospital, theatre, assembly-rooms, custom-house, and gaol. Of these buildings, the one in which the free school was located seems to have been the first erected, the establishment having been placed on a permanent footing, under the auspices of Lord Amherst, in 1823. Christ-church, in the immediate vicinity of the former, was but of recent erection, the religious services of the protestants of Cawnpoor having been for many years performed alternately in the riding-house of the royal dragoons, and in a bungalow hired for the purpose at the other end of the cantonments; through the parsimony of the government, and the apathy, or avarice, of the protestant community, which withheld the funds necessary for the erection of a church—to the great scandal of professing Christians, in the estimation of the native residents. The assembly-rooms and theatre were two very fine buildings, particularly the latter, which was entirely surrounded by a corridor, supported by pillars of the Ionic order. Of the two last-mentioned edifices, the first—which had been converted into shambles, in which English women and children were ruthlessly massacred by order of the ferocious and cowardly traitor, Nana Sahib, on the night of the 16th of July—has been razed to the ground, having a stone placed on its site, which records the execrable and unexampled act of butchery there perpetrated. From the centre of the town, an avenue of magnificent trees extends to the race-course, on the western side of the grand trunk road to Allahabad; and this route constituted the usual evening drive of fashionable society at Cawnpoor.

The cantonments, which are irregular in form, extend over a space of ground six miles in length, by two in breadth, and formerly presented a very agreeable diversity of houses, gardens, and park-like grounds, intermingled with the barracks and magazines, &c., of the military. During the events to which reference has been made in connection with the sepoy revolt, this portion of Cawnpoor suffered greatly: but it will be for ever memorable as the spot, on a portion of which was the intrenchment so gallantly improvised and defended by General Sir Hugh Wheeler and his heroic band, against the assaults of overwhelming numbers, during a period of twenty-two days; for the greater part of which the terrors of famine were added to the calamities of war, and the shrieks of agonised mothers and dying children mingled with the crash of falling walls and the yells of an enemy, human only in outward form, and regardless of all the usages of civilised warfare.

Previous to the revolt of 1857, the cantonment often contained, in addition to its European and military population, some fifty or sixty thousand native inhabitants. The native infantry here stationed, were generally encamped in the cool season, on which occasion there were regular streets and squares of canvas, stretching over a vast space of ground: each regiment was provided with its bazaar; and in the rear, and far beyond the lines of tents, were the bivouacs of the camp-followers of every kind, who usually congregated in immense numbers. All these, with the families of Europeans, and those of the military officers in their bungalows and lodges, contributed to give great animation to the cantonment. The accommodation provided was equal to the reception of seven or eight thousand troops of all arms; but the number actually stationed at Cawnpoor rarely amounted to more than half of that force; and when the revolt broke out, on the 4th of June, 1857, the troops in cantonment, both native and European, did not altogether exceed 3,845 men, of whom 240 only were English.

The Ganges at Cawnpoor forms the boundary line between the territory of the East India Company, on the western bank of the river, and the kingdom of Oude on the

opposite side; and, subsequent to the annexation of that kingdom, the military importance of Cawnpoor, as a frontier station, had considerably diminished: still, from the great extent of the cantonments, and other causes, there was always a great amount of military duty to be performed at Cawnpoor; and it was, consequently, not a favourite station: there were also many temptations to expense common to all large towns, that are not thrown in the way of young officers on joining inferior stations; but those inconveniences were perhaps almost compensated for by the opportunity for association with a better class of residents, the facility that existed for procuring books and other articles from Europe, and the pleasure of constant intercourse with persons proceeding up and down the country; all which advantages afforded an agreeable variation from the usual monotony of a provincial station.

Although Cawnpoor is situated in the Dooab, which is celebrated for its richness of soil and fertility, the country immediately around it is one wide waste of sand. At Nawaubgunge, a short distance from the northern extremity of the cantonments, the houses occupied by the civilians are seen in the midst of sterility; and, at the other extremity, the same characteristics of soil prevail; the encamping-ground being absolutely treeless and leafless, and frequently presenting the appearance of the mirage. The cantonments, which are much broken by ravines, are, on the contrary, thickly planted; and being interspersed by native temples and village-like bazaars, they afford a variety of interesting drives. The houses, though principally bungalows, were built upon a very large scale, and their general appearance was much improved by the addition of circular ends, stuccoed with *chunam*, and of a dazzling whiteness. Many of such bungalows contained splendid suites of apartments, fitted up with much elegance; and all were furnished with fire-places after the European style, the severity of the weather in the cold season rendering a blazing hearth absolutely necessary for comfort. In the European gardens, all the vegetables common to the West are raised without difficulty in the cold season, with the exception of broad or Windsor-beans. Fruit is abundant, and the bazaars were well supplied with butchers'-meat, poultry, and game. It is needless to remark, that the outrages committed by the rebellious soldiery and their followers, during the brief interval in which they held the place, and the result of the means taken for their punishment, has frightfully changed the general appearance and condition of Cawnpoor.

AGRA.

The city of Agra is the capital of the Anglo-Indian province similarly named, and the official seat of the lieutenant-governor of the North-Western Provinces of Bengal. It is situated on the south-west bank of the river Jumna, 115 miles S.S.E. from Delhi, and 185 N.W. of Cawnpoor. Its origin is supposed to be traced to a very remote antiquity; and, by the Hindoos, it is asserted to have been the scene of the *avatar*, or incarnation of their god Vishnu, under the name of Parasu Rama. Having, probably through the lapse of ages, dwindled from its original importance, Agra, at the close of the fifteenth century of the Christian era, was little better than an inconsiderable village. At length its natural attractions brought it under the notice of the emperor Akber, who chose it for the site of a royal residence, and gave it the name of Akbarabad. Under this name it flourished as the seat of the Mogul government until 1674, when the emperor Shah Jehan removed the imperial court to Delhi; and from that period, Agra, or Akbarabad, has progressively again declined in importance.

Agra was wrested from the sovereignty of the Moguls by the Mahratta chief Madajee Sindia, in 1784, and continued in the possession of the victors until the year 1803, when, after a short but vigorous siege, the city was taken by the English forces under Lord Lake. It has since remained in the hands of the British government, and is the seat of a civil establishment for the collection of revenue and the administration of justice. The

city rises from the river in the form of a vast semicircle, surrounded by a wall of red granite, and a ditch of considerable width. The houses generally are of stone, and lofty, but the streets are scarcely of sufficient width to admit the passage of a carriage through them. A few years since, the city contained about 700 mosques, and an equal number of baths. Among the buildings within the walls, are a fort and some remains of a palace of the Mogul emperors; and on the opposite side of the river are a number of ancient tombs and other buildings, of extraordinary architectural beauty. Independent of the desolation caused by recent events at Agra, in connection with the sepoy revolt of 1857, a great portion of the edifices within and around the city wall, have been, for many years, in a state of dilapidation; in short, the pristine extent and splendour of the city was only to be traced by the number and variety of the ruins, which spread themselves around on every side. Vast tracts, covered with old buildings, the remains of wells, and fragments of walls, which originally flourished in the midst of verdure and under the shade of forest trees, now only render the wide waste of sand, which has swallowed up all vegetation, still more desolate. The country between the fort and the Taj Mahal (a superb mausoleum erected by Shah Jehan) is a perfect desert; and visitors, after winding their way through an arid plain, only diversified by sand-heaps and crumbling masses of stone, come, as if by enchantment, upon the luxuriant gardens which still adorn the mausoleum, where the mighty emperor, and the beautiful partner of his throne and empire, sleep together in undisturbed repose.

The marble cupola on the left of the engraving, crowns a beautiful musjid, or mosque, attached to the Taj. Beyond, flanked by its slender minarets, the Taj itself appears; and, in the distance, the eye rests upon the cupolas and turrets of the magnificent gateway that forms the principal entrance to this terrestrial paradise. Constant irrigation is necessary in India to preserve the beauty of gardens, which soon disappears if not continually refreshed by the revivifying stream. The pleasure-grounds belonging to the Taj Mahal are watered daily, and they are clothed in perpetual verdure; while the surrounding country is a parched wilderness.

The beautiful arched gateway and square tower on the right of the plate, opens into an enclosure of considerable extent, between the plain and the gardens of the Taj. Many buildings of the same design skirt the gardens, and some were fitted up for the residences of European families during the rains. The superior elegance of the native architecture often rendered it a subject for regret, that so few of the deserted buildings in the vicinity of Agra had been adapted to the use of the European inhabitants; not more than three or four of the mosques and tombs having been fitted up for their comfortable occupation, while the far greater number are lodged in excessively ugly bungalows, built with the old bricks which cover miles of the suburbs of Agra, and which can be had for the trouble of collecting them.

The church belonging to the cantonments was a handsome structure, built under the superintendence of an officer of the Company's engineers. In the course of the events of July, 1857, this edifice, together with the English and Oriental college, the government house, the Metcalfe testimonial, and, indeed, nearly every building of European construction, were destroyed by the mutinous bands that followed the retiring force under Brigadier Polwhele, after the engagement at Futtehpoor Sikri on the 5th of July.

THE TAJ MAHAL, AGRA.

The great lion of Agra is the world-renowned Taj Mahal, or imperial mausoleum, erected by the emperor Shah Jehan, over the remains of his favourite wife, the empress Nour Jehan, or "Light of the World;" which is situated about three miles from the cantonments, and one mile from the fort of Agra. This "crown of edifices," as its name implies, is built of white marble, on a terrace of the same material, intermingled with a fine yellow

stone. It contains a central hall, surmounted by a capacious dome, beneath which are the tombs of the founder and of his empress, and around the central space are a number of small apartments and corridors. The mausoleum, which has been esteemed the finest specimen of Indian architecture now extant, is reported to have cost £750,000; and with its clusters of light minarets, its noble gateway, mosque, and other buildings, forms a most exquisite group. The costly mosaics of twelve different sorts of stones, with which the mausoleum was paved, have gradually disappeared; but the general beauty of the structure had remained, to a great extent, unimpaired up to the period of the revolt of 1857. The height of the Taj Mahal, from the lower terrace to the golden crescent that surmounted the principal dome, was upwards of 250 feet, and the erection of the building occupied twenty years.

The late Bishop Heber, in speaking of this superb tomb, says—"After hearing its praises ever since I had been in India, its beauty rather exceeded than fell short of my expectations. The building itself is raised on an elevated terrace of white and yellow marble, and has, at its angles, four tall minarets of the same material. In the centre hall, enclosed within a carved screen of exquisite design and workmanship, is the tomb of the favourite Nour Jehan; and upon a marble *dais* slightly raised, by the side of her remains, is that of the emperor himself. The windows are of white marble, elaborately traced, and perforated for light and air—of the same design as the screen. The walls, screens, and tombs are covered with flowers and inscriptions, executed in beautiful mosaics of cornelian, lapis-lazuli, pearl, and jasper; and yet, though everything is finished like an ornament for a drawing-room, the general effect is solemn and impressive, irrespective of the associations naturally attached to it in the mind of the spectator."

The entrance-gate to this region of enchantment is itself a palace, both as regards its magnitude and its decoration, being built of a deep red stone inlaid with white marble, and surmounted with domes and open cupolas. The centre forms a large circular hall, having a domed roof and gallery running round, and the interior walls are also embellished with splendid mosaics in rich patterns of flowers, so delicately formed that they look like embroidery on white satin—thirty-five different specimens of cornelians being employed in the single leaf of a carnation; while agates, lapis-lazuli, turquoise, and other precious materials, are spread over the place in unparalleled profusion.

THE JUMMA MUSJID, AGRA.

This magnificent building fronts the Delhi gate of the fort, which is visible on the right of the engraving; the architecture is extremely grand and solid, flanked by octangular towers, and strengthened by massive buttresses. A lofty gateway, surmounted by minarets, leads to the interior, which is rich but chaste, and marked by simplicity of style. The Mohammedan religion rejects all extraneous decoration in the adornment of places of worship, and the lofty cupola'd hall is free from that florid ornamentation which the tasteful Mogul delights to lavish upon edifices designed for the abodes of the living, or the reception of the dead.

The Jumma Musjid is still in good preservation, notwithstanding its exposure to damage, from proximity to the fort, during the investment of that place in July and August, 1857.

The fort of Agra forms one of the most interesting specimens of military architecture that is to be found in India; and was evidently a place of vast strength before the art of war became entirely changed by the invention of gunpowder: its high battlemented walls of red granite, lofty towers, postern gates, and inclined planes, with the golden symbol of Mogul supremacy gleaming above its pinnacles and cupolas, altogether present an imposing assemblage of objects. Until the events of 1857, no attempt had ever been made to maintain the fort of Agra against a hostile force, and it consequently had remained

uninjured by violence. The walls embraced an area of very considerable extent, within which is an immense hall, formerly the place in which the Mogul emperors held their durbars, but now converted into an arsenal. The Mootee Musjid, or Pearl Mosque, and a palace of Akber, are also comprehended within the fortifications. The palace itself, which is built entirely of white marble, is a splendid fabric, in excellent repair, with the exception of some of the chief apartments, in which the ceilings were of polished silver, and have long since disappeared. The principal hall is still a superb apartment, supported on pillars and arches in a florid style of architecture; and among the suites of smaller chambers, are many highly decorated, the walls being inlaid with a mosaic work of flowers, executed in an almost endless variety of cornelians, agates, bloodstone, lapis-lazuli, and jasper. These beautiful apartments overlook the Jumna as it winds along banks planted with luxuriant gardens, and decked at every jutting point with light and elegant pavilions; numerous quadrangles and courtyards intersect the building, each having its postern, its marble basins, or its fountains; multitudes of pigeons of various colours—blue, pink, brown, and green—nestle amid the pinnacles, adding the gleaming beauty of their plumage to the gorgeous flowers, and the sparkling waters that flow through channels scooped out of the pavement to receive them.

The palace of the great Akber, though it may justly vie with the far-famed Alhambra, and is even superior to that celebrated building in the delicacy and finish of its ornaments, is yet eclipsed by the surpassing beauty of the Pearl Mosque, an edifice of which it is almost impossible to convey any adequate description, so exquisitely lovely is it in every part. The dazzling resplendence of the material of which it is composed can only be compared to a flood of moonlight; but the admiration and astonishment which it calls forth, is speedily absorbed in the delight excited by the chaste grandeur of the architecture: an immense quadrangle, cloistered on three sides with a rich arcade, surmounted at intervals with octagonal pavilions, leads to a hall supported by several rows of arches, most beautifully springing out of each other, and crowned with a light dome. A marble basin is hollowed in the centre of the court, in the midst of which a fountain perpetually adds its soothing whispers to the calm and silvery radiance of this region of enchantment.

JAHARA BANG—AGRA.

Previous to the devastating outrages upon property as well as persons, that characterised the sepoy rebellion of 1857, the eastern bank of the river Jumna, at Agra, was adorned by a succession of beautiful gardens of great luxuriance and vast extent, where the orange, the citron, and the vine vied with the richest and fairest fruit, and exquisite flowers charmed the senses with their beauty and perfume; while numberless fountains of crystal waters, among pavilions of marble, invited to repose those who delighted to indulge in the pomp and indolence of Oriental luxury. The Jahara Bang, or garden, was the name given to one of those delightful retreats; and in wandering through its stately avenues, the readers of the Arabian tales might in imagination realise the picture of the imperial pleasure-grounds on the banks of the Tigris, the fabled scene of the adventures of the caliph Haroun Alraschid, with the fair princess Noureddin Ali, and her Persian rivals.

Nothing, however, can be imagined more beautiful in reality than the view from the pavilion represented in the plate; which was erected on the extreme point of a small peninsula overhanging the rocky bed of the river. On the opposite bank, one of the most celebrated cities of Hindoostan, beautiful even in its ruins, spreads its architectural splendours before the admiring gaze; the marble palace of Shah Jehan glitters on the very edge of the stream; while its terraces, turrets, and pinnacles, are reflected in the bright mirror that stretches itself below: in the background, the bastioned walls and massive gateways of the city, appear crowned with the shining cupolas of the Pearl Mosque, and

partially concealed by the shading foliage of the neem, the peepul, and the tamarind tree; the long and beautiful perspective of tower, palace, ghaut, and embowering grove, is closed by the tall minarets and lofty dome of the Taj Mahal.

Nothing short of a stereoscopic view could possibly convey an adequate idea of the multiplicity of beautiful objects that riveted the senses in this extensive and magnificent prospect, or the imposing effect which it produced when seen at the moment in which the rising sun bathed the whole scene in one bright flood of golden light. The sinuosities of the river afforded a perpetual succession of views; but from the minarets of Etemad-ud Dowlah's tomb (the father of Nour Mahal), in the immediate vicinity, the eye could take in a wide and richly varied prospect, many miles in extent, at a single glance. This building, which stands in the midst of a wilderness, near the Jahara Bang, has been esteemed the most chaste and beautiful specimen of architecture that the Moguls have left for the adornment of the land subjected to their rule. It was erected by Nour Mahal, to protect the remains of her father.

Compared with many of the sepulchral monuments of India, the tomb of Etemad-ud Dowlah is small, consisting only of one central hall, with octagonal apartments at the angles, surmounted by a dome and four open minarets. The whole edifice was covered with a lattice of marble wrought with flowers and foliage, intermingled with tracery, and forming a rich veil of most exquisite workmanship. This building has not for some years attracted the attention of the government; and as there are no funds available for keeping it in repair, the ravages of time will doubtless, in a few more years, effect its slow but certain destruction.

THE TOMB OF AKBER—SECUNDRA.

The tomb of the emperor Akber at Secundra, about seven miles distant from Agra, is conjectured to have formerly been enclosed within the gates of that city. For many years past, however, visitors to this extraordinary pile have had to trace their way to it through a picturesque country strewed with ruins, and along the narrow streets of a second-rate but bustling commercial town, situated midway between the city and the tomb, to the village of Secundra, a place which still retains some vestiges of former greatness, but now sheltering only a few of the poorest peasants, who are content to dwell beneath the crumbling roofs of decaying grandeur.

The magnificent pile which heaps terrace upon terrace over the ashes of the mighty Akber, if not the most chaste and beautiful in its design, is perhaps the most spacious of the monuments erected to perpetuate the glories of the Mohammedan rulers of Hindoostan. It stands in the centre of a park-like plantation of some forty acres in extent, the whole area being surrounded by a battlemented wall, strengthened by an octagonal tower at each corner, built in a bold style, and crowned with an open cupola at the top. Four gateways open into this enclosure, one of which is considered the most magnificent edifice of the kind to be found even in India.

The mausoleum itself is exceedingly singular in its design, and differs widely from the usual features of Mogul architecture. It forms a perfect square, the basement storey containing nothing worthy of note excepting its outer colonnade, the four passages leading from the four gateways, and the dim vault in which the remains of Akber, enclosed in a marble sarcophagus, repose. A lamp, burning on the tomb, is daily fed by the pious care of a few poor brethren of the Mohammedan priesthood, who also strew fresh-gathered flowers over the unconscious dead—a custom prevalent in every part of Hindoostan. Above this storey there is a second, a third, and a fourth, each forming a distinct range, rising directly over the tomb, and each containing a marble sarcophagus: the rooms in each range are small, and can only be entered from the marble verandahs of the terraces. Flights of stairs lead from the entrances below to the first platform, the building being somewhat in the form of a pyramid with the apex cut off. This storey consists of four

noble terraces, or rather one quadrangle, with the central chamber before-mentioned; its suites of small apartments, and cloistered arcade in the midst, presenting the same *façade* on every side. The whole is surrounded by a noble balustrade; and at each angle there is a large pavilion-shaped turret with an open cupola. Flights of stairs lead to the second terraced quadrangle, which is precisely the same as the lower one, except that it is smaller; each tier diminishing in size until the summit of the building is reached, and the visitor treads upon a vast platform, surrounded by a screen of white marble perforated in every compartment in beautiful designs of arabesques, and having turreted marble cupolas at the angles. In the centre of this platform stands a fifth sarcophagus, most delicately and beautifully carved, the name of the monarch who sleeps below being inscribed upon it in gems. Though exposed to every change of atmosphere, its beauty still remains unimpaired by the sunny climate of the East; and notwithstanding the lapse of years since the potent monarch whose ashes it covers was gathered to his fathers, it is still as pure, as white, and as brilliantly polished, as when it came from the skilful hand of the artificer by whom its beauty was thus brought to perfection. The three storeys that intervene between this platform and the basement floor are constructed of red granite, inlaid with white marble. The cupolas are covered with coloured tiles, composed of a coarse description of enamel; and, altogether, there is more of barbaric pomp displayed in this mausoleum than is usually found in the edifices raised by Mohammedans to perpetuate the memory of their rulers.

While the upper part of the building may be open to objection in an architectural sense, nothing can be finer than the gateways, and the wide marble colonnades, which sweep along the four sides of the mausoleum. These spacious cloisters would afford shelter and accommodation for a large army; and a regiment of English dragoons which was quartered in them during the siege of Agra, by Lord Lake, occupied but a very small portion of the space afforded. They lead to marble chambers screened off from each other, in which several members of the imperial family are enshrined, and are flanked with solid towers, their cupola'd summits forming pavilions to the terrace above. The interior of the arch at the principal entrance (shown on the right of the plate) is covered with verses that commemorate the virtues and triumphs of the founder, and expatiate upon the instability of human grandeur.

The renowned monarch for whose remains this stupendous monument was erected, was the son of the emperor Humayun. He was proclaimed emperor of Hindoostan on the death of his father in 1555, and died in October, 1605, after a glorious reign of forty-nine years, nearly the whole of which he was a cotemporary ruler with Elizabeth of England. The virtues of Akber's private character, his long and prosperous reign, and the stability which his invariable success gave to an empire which had nearly fallen under the dominion of the Afghans a second time, have inspired the people of Hindoostan with the highest regard for his memory; and even, to the present time, pilgrims from far and foreign lands come to offer homage at his lonely sepulchre.

One of the recesses around the shrine of Akber contains the ashes of a Hindoo princess, Jod Bae, whom her father, the rajah Moota of Joudpoor, gave to Akber in marriage, receiving in return from the conqueror four provinces, yielding £200,000 of annual revenue—certainly a royal price for a wife!

FUTTEHPOOR SIKRI.

The town of Futtehpoor Sikri is situated about nineteen miles W.S.W. of Agra, and, for many years, was a favourite retreat of the emperor Akber and his descendants. Its more recent claim to historical celebrity will, however, henceforth date from its association with the rebellious movements of some native regiments of the Bengal army; a portion of which, consisting of about 9,000 men, with a train of artillery, on their way from

Neemuch towards Agra, was encountered near the place on the 5th of July, 1857, by a European force numbering, with volunteers, about 950 men, under Brigadier Polwhele. The enemy was attacked with great spirit and determination by this handful of men, and, for a time, victory appeared to crown their valour; but the ammunition of the little band having failed, the latter was compelled to fall back on Agra, and take shelter in the fort. The rebels, emboldened by the retrograde movement, followed their assailants as far as the cantonments, which, being left without protection, they entered, and committed the most brutal excesses. Their first act was to set free the prisoners in the gaol; and the next, to pillage and destroy by fire whatever property appeared to belong to the Europeans. The amount of such property carried off, or rendered valueless, was afterwards estimated at more than ten lacs of rupees; and while the havoc proceeded, thirty-four native Christians, who had neglected to seek protection in the fort, were savagely massacred. Having at length accomplished their nefarious purpose, the rebels withdrew from the ruined cantonments, to augment the native army at Delhi.

Though now a place of mere huts and ruins, scantily inhabited by a few poor villagers, the architectural remains of other days at Futtehpoor Sikri, are yet of the most splendid description, and equal, if they do not surpass, those of any other portion of the vast empire of the Moguls.

The gateway represented in the plate, leads to the mosque attached to the palace of Akber, and is considered the most beautiful specimen of the kind to be found in the world. It opens into a quadrangle of magnificent proportions, surrounded on three sides with a fine piazza, the mosque itself forming the fourth side. The latter is a handsome building, in a plain, solid style of architecture, but far inferior in design to the magnificent portal by which it is approached. The enclosure is about 500 feet square, and its chaste grandeur produces an effect naturally associated with ideas of monastic seclusion and meditative study.

Upon entering this spacious area, the visitor cannot fail to be struck by the imposing *coup d'œil* presented to him. Facing the entrance are two mausoleums, wrought with all the care and delicate workmanship that distinguish the efforts of Mogul art. In the one on the right, several members of the imperial family lie entombed; the other, which is represented as the shrine of Sheik Soliman, is a perfect gem in design and execution, elaborately worked in marble of the finest whiteness and most delicate sculpture. This holy personage, now esteemed and honoured as a saint by the Mohammedans, was the friend and councillor of Akber; and dying in the odour of sanctity, his shrine is regarded by Mohammedans with peculiar veneration.

The mosque is surmounted by three domes of white marble; and the turret-crowned embattlemented quadrangle, with its arched cloisters, splendid gateway, and isolated tombs, leave nothing to desire. To the right of the mosque the remains of Akber's ruined palace rise amidst courts and terraces, in various stages of decay; but the portions which remain entire are particularly interesting: among these the stables of the emperor are worthy of notice; they consist of a spacious street, with a piazza on either side, fifteen feet in width—supported upon handsome pillars, and roofed in by enormous slabs of stone extending from the parapet to the wall. The residence of Akber's favourite minister, though upon a small scale, affords a very pleasing specimen of Oriental luxury, realising the ideas of pavilions and miniature palaces, with which we become familiar in the Arabian tales.

In the court of the zenana another of those exquisite pieces of workmanship is yet extant, in the bedchamber of one of Akber's wives, the daughter of the sultan of Constantinople. The remains of this *bijou* are exceedingly beautiful: three windows of perforated marble, in the exquisite tracery that occurs so profusely in all Mogul buildings, are still entire as on the day they received the last touch of the sculptor's chisel. The wall was disfigured by Aurungzebe, the third son of Shah Jehan; who, in order to divert the minds of the people from dwelling upon his usurpation of his father's throne, and his relentless persecution of his brothers, affected much religious zeal, and displayed it chiefly by strict observance of the outward forms and precepts of the Koran. The interior of the pavilion was beautifully carved with trees, clusters of grapes, and vine-leaves; among which were birds and animals executed with wonderful skill: but as the strict regulations of Islamism do not permit of such representations, the emperor ordered them to be demolished, or

defaced. Another chamber in this extensive area was paved with lozenges of black and white marble, forming an enormous chess-board, on which the emperor and his nobles played, human beings personating the various pieces employed in the game so deeply studied by Asiatics of all ages.

The audience chamber of Akber, though more curious than beautiful, forms an object of great attraction to the visitors of Futtehpoor. It is a pavilion of stone, about twenty feet square, surrounded by a gallery of the same material: the musnud, or throne, in form somewhat resembling a pulpit, rises in the centre; and from each of the four sides of the gallery, a narrow bridge, without rails, leads to the place, where the emperor, seated in solitary state, received his courtiers, who were not permitted to advance beyond the galleries.

The town of Futtehpoor Sikri, though now but thinly inhabited, is surrounded by a mouldering turreted wall, five miles in circumference. From the gateway, on the road to Agra, a spacious street presents itself, bearing ample voucher that it was once bounded by palatial residences of the nobles of Hindoostan; now falling rapidly into masses of shapeless ruins. The gate of the mosque (as shown in the plate) forms, by its great elevation, a sort of beacon to the distant traveller; and from its topmost storey a splendid view rewards those who are sufficiently courageous to make the ascent. From this height the eye may wander over a vast extent of country—fields that, till of late, were highly cultivated, producing cotton, mustard, rice, and other kinds of grain; wooded with mango and tamarind groves, watered by broad jheels, and interspersed with a profusion of picturesque buildings. Serais, mosques, crumbling palaces, old tombs, and ruined walls, spread themselves, on the north-west, to the walls of Bhurtpoor—the fortress so famous in the military annals of Hindoostan; while, on the opposite side, the city of Agra, with the snowy dome of the Taj Mahal, gives an enchanting finish to the picture.

THE FORT AT MUTTRA.

The city of Muttra, or Mathura, is situated on the Jumna, about thirty miles N.W. from Agra. It has ever been one of the strongholds of Hindoo superstition; and, previous to the early Mohammedan conquests, was considered of great sanctity and importance, being reverenced as the birthplace of Krishna, the Hindoo Apollo. Its splendid temples and shrines, in which the idols were of pure gold, are supposed to have tempted the invader, Mahmood of Ghuznee, to ravage the country in which it stood. That monarch seized the city, and carried off its treasures of every kind; and the immense value of the spoil with which he loaded his camels, inducing others to follow his rapacious example, the temples were quickly plundered of all that he had overlooked. Mahmood, in fulfilment of the duty enjoined to all true believers, overthrew the principal temple at Muttra, which was afterwards rebuilt at the cost of thirty-six lacs of rupees. Aurungzebe, as great a bigot as his predecessor, destroyed the second temple, and constructed, on its site, a mosque with the materials of the desecrated fane; but the Moslem conquerors, though planting the victorious Crescent upon the smoking ruins of Hindoo shrines, could not succeed in rooting out, or even diminishing, the spirit of idolatry with which the inhabitants of the city were imbued.

The Hindoo temples at Muttra are very numerous, though not equal in point of size, and grandeur of design, to many places of Brahminical worship in other parts of India: still they are finished with much elegance; and the architectural splendours of the ghauts, with their accompanying pagodas, exceed in beauty many of the numerous superb landing-places which spread themselves on both sides of the Jumna, and are found adorning its wildest solitudes. The city is well built, after the Indian fashion; many of the houses being constructed with much solidity, the walls massive and lofty, and embellished with richly carved ornaments in wood and stone. The lofty, dark, and frowning walls of the

fort at Muttra, when seen against the red flush of an Eastern sunset, have a very imposing appearance from the river. In coming down with the current, it is passed shortly after it is first seen; but in toiling up against the stream, full leisure is obtained to gaze upon the massive bastions which have, in former days, successfully opposed the hostile projects of surrounding chieftains. This castellated edifice stands upon the western bank of the river, and was, in former times, a place of great strength; its appearance being still formidable, as may be conceived from the plate annexed. The walls enclose, and cover, a large extent of ground, containing many buildings of various degrees of interest; but the once beautiful and still interesting relic of feudal power at Muttra, has long been abandoned to the despoiling influence of time, without an effort to arrest its progress.

The principal distinction that has, from a remote period, belonged to Muttra, consists in the troops of monkeys with which the whole of its avenues swarm: those creatures are to be seen everywhere; and there is no possibility of keeping them out of any place they may choose to invade: they climb upon the tops of the houses, descend to the interior courts and gardens, perch upon the walls and doorposts, and assail the passengers below with missiles. Few persons can have rambled through the streets of Muttra without experiencing this kind of annoyance; but to resent it by killing or injuring one of the tormenting animals, would involve very serious consequences. Not many years since, two young officers, who fired at a monkey in the neighbourhood, were drowned in the Jumna, in the vain attempt to escape from the violence of an exasperated multitude that pursued them to their destruction. Monkeys are reverenced by the Hindoos, in consequence of one of their sacred books recording that Humayun had led an army of these animals to the assistance of their god Rama, when defeated in a conflict with the great Ravanu, one of the evil powers of the Hindoo pantheon.

ENTRANCE TO THE PALACE, DELHI.

The modern city of Delhi, for a short time the head-quarters of a sanguinary rebellion that was intended to wrest the sceptre of Hindoostan from the royal hand of Britain, was founded in 1631, by the emperor Shah Jehan, upon part of the site of a former city, which is said to have covered a space of twenty square miles, over great part of which its ruins are still scattered. The modern city stands on the west bank of the Jumna, and is about seven miles in circumference, enclosed on three sides by a fortified wall and towers; and on the fourth, partly by the palace of the late titular king, and partly by the river. It was entered by seven gates of beautiful architecture, of which the one named from the city is nearest the palace—the Lahore gate being immediately opposite to the principal entrance of that structure, and the Cashmere gate being nearest to the English cantonments. The palace, of which one of the entrances is seen in the accompanying engraving, was also built by Shah Jehan, who surrounded it with a moat and embattled wall, which, towards the city, was sixty feet high, with several small towers, and two noble gateways. Not far from the palace is a mosque of red stone, whose domes appear in the central distance of the picture; and within which, on the 17th of February, 1739, the conqueror, Nadir Shah, sat from sunrise to mid-day, to witness the massacre of the inhabitants, which did not cease until near 100,000 persons had fallen by the swords of his infuriated soldiery. The palace itself, as seen from a distance, exhibited a cluster of pinnacles and towers, many of which have been shaken to the ground, through the terrible occurrences that have followed the insane attempt to re-establish the empire of the Moguls upon the ruin of that of England, in Hindoostan. Through the gate shown in the engraving, the infatuated descendant of a worn-out dynasty, on the 12th of May, 1857, after suffering himself to be proclaimed king of Hindoostan, issued, surrounded by Oriental pomp; and, amidst the salutes of artillery and the clangour of martial instruments, proceeded through the city, to receive the homage of his subjects, and to animate them in their treacherous and rebellious war against the English. Through this gate,

also, on the 21st of the following September, the phantom king, intercepted in his useless flight from the retribution he had provoked, was brought back to the palace he had occupied as ruler of India, a wretched prisoner, divested of rank and title, to await the result of a trial that, in all probability, would consign him, in the extreme winter of his existence, to the doom of a traitor and a felon. It is not in the province of this descriptive work to trace the progress, or to record, the triumphs, of the struggle unnaturally forced upon this country by the treachery and vindictiveness of the people of India; and as the subject is fully treated in works devoted to the purpose, to those pages we must refer for details that are now of national importance and of world-wide interest.

THE COOTUB MINAR—DELHI.

The village of Cootub—in which the remarkable column represented in the accompanying engraving, rises in towering majesty over the scattered relics of the ancient capital of the Mogul empire—is situated about ten miles south-west of modern Delhi, amidst a scene of desolation that has been spreading around it for nearly two centuries. The origin of the Minar is ascribed to the early part of the thirteenth century, during the reign of the Sultan Shems-ud-din Altemsh (between the years 1210 and 1231), being founded by the viceroy of that monarch, Cootub, from whom its name is derived. The base of the column is circular, and forms a polygon of twenty-seven sides, the exterior of the shaft being fluted to the third storey, in twenty-seven circular and angular divisions, the flutings varying in each compartment. Four balconies encircle the pillar, the first being at the height of ninety feet from the ground, the second at 140, the third at 180, and the fourth at 203 feet. The summit was originally crowned with a majestic cupola of red granite, which has long fallen from its elevated position, and lies scattered in fragments around the base of the pillar. The upper storey of the edifice, considerably above the fourth balcony, bore inscriptions, four in number, declaratory of its object, and designating its founder; but the letters have, to a great extent, become so dilapidated, and the difficulty of near approach so much increased by the decay of the material, that it has long been only possible to decipher a portion of them by the aid of a powerful telescope. In the *Asiatic Researches*,* the following fragment of the fourth inscription is given as the only intelligible portion of the record now remaining:—

"The erection of this building was commenced in the glorious time of the great sultan, the mighty king of kings, the master of mankind, the lord of the monarchs of Turkestan, Arabia, and Persia; the sun of the world and religion, of the faith and the faithful; the lord of safety and protection; the heir of the kingdoms of Suliman. Abu Muzeffa Altemsh Nasir Amin ul Momenin."

The entire height of the Minar is 242 feet as it now stands, without the cupola; the stone of which it is composed is principally red granite, but there is an admixture of black and white marble—the upper divisions being entirely formed of the latter material. An irregular spiral staircase, in which there are many openings for the admission of light and air, leads to the top: this ascent was difficult and perilous until repaired by order of the government, which desired to rescue so valuable a relic of the past from impending ruin.

Some remains of an unfinished mosque are in the close vicinity of the Minar. To the eastward a court extends, enclosed by a high wall, and bordered on two sides by arcades, formed of pillars carved in the richest style of Hindoo art. The domes in this quarter are particularly elegant, but appear to have been formed before the true principles of the arch had become known in India. Arcades of the same description, but with little ornament, extend also to the south and east of the Minar. Immediately at the base of the column are the remains of one of the superb portals

* Vol. xiv., p. 481.

common to the buildings of the Moslems. This splendid entrance, and the accompanying line of arches, is supposed to be the eastern front of a mosque, commenced also by the viceroy Cootub, but never completed. The archway of this gate is sixty feet in height, and the ornaments with which it is embellished are matchless, being cut with the delicacy of a seal engraving; the edges remaining, to this day, perfectly sharp, and uninjured by the elemental conflicts they have been exposed to during the lapse of centuries. The arcade (which stretches to the right of the picture) beneath the gateway is of granite, and is covered with inscriptions highly and minutely finished, according to the usual style of the Patans or Moguls, who were said to build like giants, and to embellish like jewellers.

From the summit of the Cootub Minar the view is sublime: the eye wanders for miles over a wide waste of ruins, amidst which the mausoleums of Humayun and Sufter Jung alone remain in a state of tolerable preservation. The silvery Jumna rolls its current through the midst of the desolation, making large curves as it glides snake-like along. In the background, the large feudal towers of Selimgurh rear their dark turreted heights in gloomy magnificence; and still farther in the distance are seen the white and glittering mosques of modern Delhi, mingled with the ruins produced by the ravages of modern revolt, and the just but terrible punishment that has followed it.

THE TOMB OF HUMAYUN—DELHI.

The mausoleum of Humayun (Auspicious), son of Baber, and sixth in descent from the imperial Timoor, still remains one of the most perfect edifices that are to be found amongst the ruins of old Delhi. This prince, equally celebrated for his misfortunes as for his virtues, exercised a troubled sway over a portion of Hindoostan proper, from the death of his father, in 1530, to the period of his own existence, in 1555; during which time he was more than once exposed to the perils of rebellion and the privations of exile, the whole of which he triumphantly surmounted, and died in the undisturbed possession of a mighty and united empire. The tomb of this prince, erected by his son Akber, has always been an object of veneration to the people of India; which may, in some degree, account for its preservation in the midst of a sea of ruins. But great as may have been its attraction in the eyes of the native population, as a memorial of the faded glories of the Mogul rulers of their country, the circumstances that have connected the mausoleum with the retributive justice which followed in the track of the Mohammedan revolt of 1857, will henceforth impart to it, in the eyes of Europeans, a far greater and more solemn interest. From the mausoleum of Humayun, on the 22nd of September, 1857, two of the rebel sons, and a grandson, of the then captive titular king of Delhi, were dragged, while surrounded by a host of armed adherents, to expiate their crimes against the state and humanity, by a sudden and violent death, as exemplary as it was merited.

The tomb of Humayun is situated upon a plain, about five miles distant from the Agra gate of the modern capital. It is a noble pile of granite inlaid with white marble, less florid, and altogether of a simpler style of architecture than that of his son Akber, at Secundra. The basement of the edifice is a terrace 200 feet square, raised upon cloisters, and having a wide flight of steps on each side; the central building is also square, containing one large circular hall, with smaller apartments at the angles; the whole being crowned with a dome of white marble, and enriched with the pediments of four beautiful gateways. According to the Asiatic custom, the body of the emperor is interred in a shrine upon the basement floor; the sarcophagus is of white marble, raised upon a slight elevation from the pavement, in the centre of the hall, and immediately under the dome: the interior of the chamber still preserves rich decorations of gilding and enamel; but the tassels of gold, that formerly hung suspended from the roof, have

been removed. Several members of Humayun's family lie entombed within the chambers at the angles, having sarcophagi, beautifully carved in white marble, on the upper floor: the whole design is simple, chaste, and of noble proportions.

The mausoleum originally stood in the centre of a large garden surrounded by a battlemented wall—cloistered on the inside, flanked by towers, and entered by four gateways; but this garden, with its stately groves, its terraces and fountains, has long been neglected, and is now a wilderness. By the aid of the only spring of water that is not dried up, some poor families, who live in the outbuildings of the tomb, cultivate a little grain for their subsistence; but sand has encroached upon the pastures; and from the terrace of the mausoleum, the view is over desolated plains covered with ruins, and bounded by a range of hills equally bleak and barren. The building itself appears on the left of the plate, with all that is entire of its surrounding walls; the foreground of the picture affords a faithful portraiture of the rugged soil, cumbered with fragments of temples, towers, and palaces that lie scattered around. In the distance, to the right, gateways and dome-crowned tombs appear, intermingled with a scanty foliage of shrubs—one solitary palm rearing its head over the prostrate ruins.

The death of Humayun, in 1555, is thus related by Ferishta, the Persian historian:—"The monarch had ascended the terrace at the top of his library, to enjoy the cool evening air, and give orders respecting the attendance of astronomers to note the rising of Venus, which was to be the signal for the announcement of a general promotion among the nobility and officers. While preparing to descend the steep and highly-polished stairs, protected only by an ornamental balustrade a foot high, a *muezzin* (or crier) announced the hour of prayer from the minarets of the adjoining mosque, where the people, being assembled, had just offered the monarch the usual *komesh* (or salutation.) Humayun, intending to repeat the customary formula, attempted to seat himself on the spot; but his foot becoming entangled in the folds of his robe, he fell headlong down the steps, receiving a contusion on the right temple, of which he died in the forty-ninth year of his age." The history of this prince is full of romantic and chivalrous incident. He was succeeded on the throne of Hindoostan by the great Akber, by whom India was consolidated into one formidable empire, by the absorption of the various small independent kingdoms around his paternal territories.

RUINS ON THE JUMNA, ABOVE DELHI.

The mosque represented in the accompanying engraving, stands on the west bank of the Jumna, a short distance from the walls, at the upper part of the modern city of Delhi. The cupolas and the gateway, which are still entire, possess strong claims to admiration; and though upon a smaller scale than many of the magnificent remains in the neighbourhood, afford a very just idea of the elegance pertaining to nearly all the places of Mohammedan worship in India. The grove which shades this venerable and time-worn ruin, whose origin is lost amidst the decay of the capital it once adorned, was, in all probability, planted by the founder; since a Moslem, when building a temple or a monument, always provided at the same time for the comfort of travellers in its vicinity. The whole of the neighbourhood of Delhi is strewed with fragments of ruined tombs, temples, serais, and palaces; and jheels of water, and swamps, have formed themselves in the hollowed foundations of prostrate edifices, adding to the gloomy wildness of the scene. After traversing these dismal wastes, it is refreshing to emerge upon the banks of the Jumna, and to gaze upon its cool waters; the beauty of the landscape, as here shown by the engraving, being much enhanced when the dark ruins intercept the bright silvery light of a full-orbed moon, shining in its majesty over plain, and grove, and gently gliding river. The character of the Jumna differs widely from that of the Ganges, and its scenery is by many travellers considered more picturesque. Its banks are distin-

guished by multitudes of ruins in the last stages of desolation: the crowds upon the ghauts are less numerous; many splendid specimens of Oriental architecture in these landing-places being wholly unfrequented, or occupied only by a few solitary bathers. Every cliff is crowned with the remnants of a fortress; and castles and temples, all bearing marks of decay, give to the sandy wilderness a solemn and melancholy air. It is true the Jumna overflows the country; but its waters at this place do not bring with them fertility: the bed of the river being very strongly impregnated with natron, vegetation is destroyed by the periodical inundations; and in consequence of the deleterious effects of the floods and the neglect of the wells, a great part of the country about Delhi is converted into an ocean of sand, through which the camels, plodding their weary way, do not find a bush or a blade of grass. The nature of the soil, and the numberless holes and hiding-places in the crevices and fissures of the ruins, afford abundant harbour for snakes. These and other reptiles may be seen gliding among the mouldering walls of many a crumbling mosque and palace, rearing their crests in the porticos and halls, or basking in the courts and terraces. Wolves and jackals secrete themselves by day in the vaults and recesses presented by the ruins of the deserted city; coming forth at night in packs, and making the walls resound with their hideous yells; while the white vulture keeps lonely ward upon the towers and pinnacles, screaming as it snuffs its prey in the distance, or as its keen eye follows the track of some disabled animal, in whose quivering flesh its talons will presently be buried.

RUINS—OLD DELHI.

Amidst misshapen fragments of marble and prostrate masses of stone—where the mosque of the faithful and the temple of the idolater lie indiscriminately together in one wide sea of ruin—the circular towers which appear in the accompanying plate, still retain a considerable portion of their pristine beauty, and afford a pleasing relief to the eye weary of the utter desolation that extends in every direction over the site of old Delhi. It is not known, at the present day, to whose memory the monument occupying the centre of the quadrangle flanked by these towers was raised; but the portion that still remains, shows that, in its pristine state, it must have been a splendid embellishment of the once magnificent scene. The tomb is erected upon a terrace supported by arches, with a round tower surmounted by an open cupola at each angle; that which occupies the foreground of the engraving being the only one remaining in a tolerable state of preservation. This beautiful memorial of the past, is situated at the northern extremity of the ruins of the old city, and about a mile from the walls of modern Delhi. In the period of its splendour, this ancient capital of the Patan and Mogul emperors was said to cover a space of twenty square miles, and its ruins are still scattered over an area nearly equal in extent. Prior to the Mohammedan invasion, it had been a place of great renown, as the remains of Hindoo architecture, mingling with relics of the Moslem conquerors, still attest. The sepulchres of 180,000 saints and martyrs belonging to the faithful, were, it is said, to be found amidst the wrecks of temples and palaces, before all had crumbled into the undistinguishable mass which now renders the scene so desolate. In the time of its glory, groves and gardens spread their luxuriant foliage over a soil now so parched and sterile, that at the time the staircase of the Cootub Minar was in too ruinous a state to admit of ascent, not a bamboo could be found to form a scaffolding for its repair.

The ruins which have formed the subject of the accompanying engraving, are situated within a short distance of an old Patan fortress of Ferozeshah, which still retains possession of a Hindoo relic to which great interest is attached. The fortress is of great extent, and contains a mosque, erected upon the site of a Hindoo temple. In the front of this ruined mosque, and in the spot on which its principal gate was erected,

is a pillar of mixed metal, about twenty-five feet in height, embellished with inscriptions in ancient, and now unintelligible, characters. This column is said to have been cast, amid spells and incantations, by an ancestor of the rajah Paitowra, who was assured, by the astrologers of his court, that as long as it continued standing, his children should rule over the inheritance which he bequeathed to them. Upon learning this tradition, Feroze Shah stayed the work of demolition he had commenced upon the temple, and suffered the column to stand in the place where it had been originally erected, in order to show the fallacy of the prediction. He strewed the pavement around it with the broken idols of Hindoo worship, which have long been turned to dust; but the pillar still remains —a trophy of Moslem power, although no longer of its independence. The last decisive battle fought between the Mohammedans and the Hindoos, which secured to the former the supremacy over Indraput, occurred nearly 600 years ago; and as the work of devastation has continued with little intermission ever since, it is not surprising that the ruins of Delhi should be so extensive.

RUINS—SOUTH SIDE OF OLD DELHI.

The scene represented in the accompanying engraving stretches far away on the south side of the ancient city of Delhi; and there is now great difficulty and uncertainty in giving a name to even the most perfect of the edifices which still rear their lofty domes amongst the crumbling heaps that give incontestable proofs of the ravages of time, and the no less destructive vengeance of man; for, as regards old Delhi, there are now no authentic records to refer to; and tradition, ever doubtful, becomes yet more imaginative when handed down by the descendants of a race whose origin is a myth, and whose whole history is a series of brilliant romance. As to the founders of many of the imposing structures whose ruins now so sadly speak of bygone magnificence, there can be no question, since the massive grandeur of the Patan and Afghan architects is peculiar to their age and habits. Many of the buildings reared by those extraordinary people are still remarkable for their solidity, in the midst of the ruin that surrounds them; and nothing short of the wanton ravages of man, aided by the hostility of nature, could have caused a devastation so great as is here presented to view.

The old city of Delhi was indebted for the greater portion of its most interesting edifices to Feroze Shah, who employed a reign of forty-three years (*i.e.*, from 1351 to 1394; more than ordinarily exempt from the troubles and disturbances which have usually characterised empire in the East) in the adornment of his capital, and in projects for the peaceful aggrandisement of his empire. His plans were designed upon the noblest scale of architectural proportions; and the extent and durability of his works, which are not more remarkable for their gigantic dimensions than for the exquisite delicacy and beauty of their finish, excite to this day the wonder and admiration of the traveller who visits the region enriched by his munificence and advanced by his taste.

The reign of this potentate—son of the capricious and despotic emperor Mohammed Toghlak—affords a pleasing contrast to that of his predecessor, whose recklessness of the lives and welfare of his subjects has scarcely been paralleled in the history of Eastern monarchs. Thus, for instance, desiring to transfer the capital of his empire from the then flourishing city of Delhi to Deogiri, as being a more central position, he proceeded to execute his design by commanding all the inhabitants of the former to remove at once to the latter place, to which he gave the name of Dowlatabad, and there built the massive fort which still exists. After this the people were twice permitted to return to Delhi, and again twice compelled, on pain of death, to leave it; these removals being all, more or less, attended with the horrors of famine, occasioning death to thousands, and distress and ruin to many more, besides spreading decay and desolation among the edifices of the city he desired to abandon. His son, Feroze Shah, on

the contrary, devoted himself to the welfare of his people, and to the consolidation and improvement of the empire to which he succeeded upon his father's death; and among other efforts of amelioration and advancement that entitle his memory to grateful veneration, may be mentioned the diminution of capital punishments, the abolition of torture and mutilation, and the removal of numerous vexatious taxes, all which evinced the solicitude of the ruler for the welfare of those under his sway. Reservoirs and canals for irrigation, mosques, colleges, caravansaries, hospitals, public baths, bridges, and other public edifices, were built; and revenues arising from laud were assessed by him for their maintenance. The chief of these works still remains a noble monument to the memory of its founder, in the canal extending from the point where the Jumna leaves the mountains by Kurnaul to Hansi and Hissar. A portion of this, extending about 200 miles, was, a few years back, restored to usefulness by the British government. Soon after the death of this great monarch, the Mahratta power, which had already threatened to reduce the whole of India to a desert, began to be felt; and, amid all the struggles which succeeded, increased in strength, until the necessity of seeking refuge within the walls of new Delhi (founded by Shah Jehan in 1631), from the ferocious horde that tyranuised over the descendants of Aurungzebe, occasioned the total abandonment of the old city, which was already partly in ruins, and laid waste by its modern conquerors.

CALCUTTA.

This important city, the principal seat of the government of British India, is situated on the eastern bank of the river Hooghly, a navigable branch of the Ganges, at a distance of about 100 miles from the sea. Its geographical position is found in lat. 22° 33′ 54″ N., and long. 88° 20′ 17″ E. From Calcutta, in a north-easterly direction, the travelling distances to the three chief seats of recent rebellion, are as follow:—From Benares, 428 miles; from Lucknow, 649; and from Delhi, 976. The spot chosen for the site of the capital is by no means the most favourable that might have been selected, as the surrounding country is flat and marshy; and extensive muddy lakes, with an immense forest, stretched in close proximity to the town, and produced a deleterious influence upon the general health of the inhabitants. Much has been effected, within the last few years, to obviate some of these local disadvantages, by draiuing the streets, filling up the stagnant pools, and clearing the jungle; but the air is still cousiderably affected by the vicinity of the marshy district called the Sunderbunds; through which, in many channels, the Ganges pours its mighty stream into the Bay of Bengal. The Hooghly, at Calcutta, is about a mile in breadth at high water; but, during the ebbs, its opposite side presents an unsightly range of long, dry sand-banks.

The city of Calcutta affords a remarkable instance of rapid advancement from comparative insignificance as au obscure village, to a state of almost imperial splendour as the capital of an immense empire, originating in the following accidental and somewhat romantic incident of the 15th century*:—"Jehanara, the favourite daughter of Shah Jehan, in retiring one night from the imperial presence to her own apartment, set her dress on fire while passing one of the lamps which lit the corridor; and, fearful of calling for assistance while the male guards of the palace were within hearing, the terrified princess rushed into the harem, enveloped by fire, and was fearfully burned before the flames could be extinguished. The most famous physicians were summoned from different parts of the empire: and the surgeons of the English ships theu at Surat, having obtained considerable repute for cures performed on some Mogul nobles, an express was sent to that place for one of them. A Mr. Gabriel Broughton was selected for the occasion; and having, fortunately, been conspicuously instrumental in aiding the recovery of the princess, was desired by the grateful father to name his reward. With rare disinterest-

* Martin's *Indian Empire*, vol. i., p. 214.